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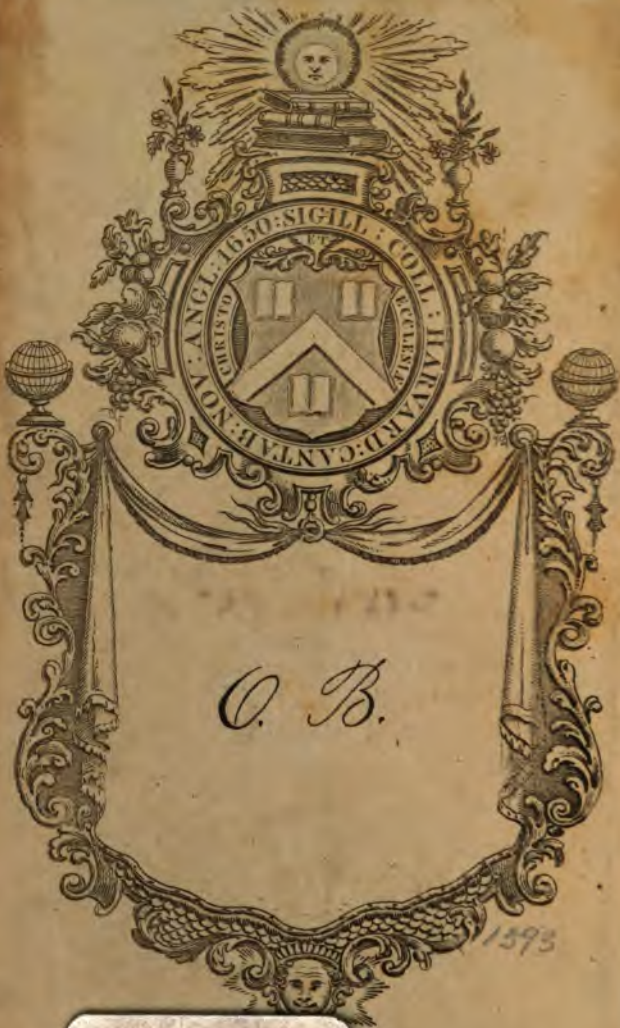
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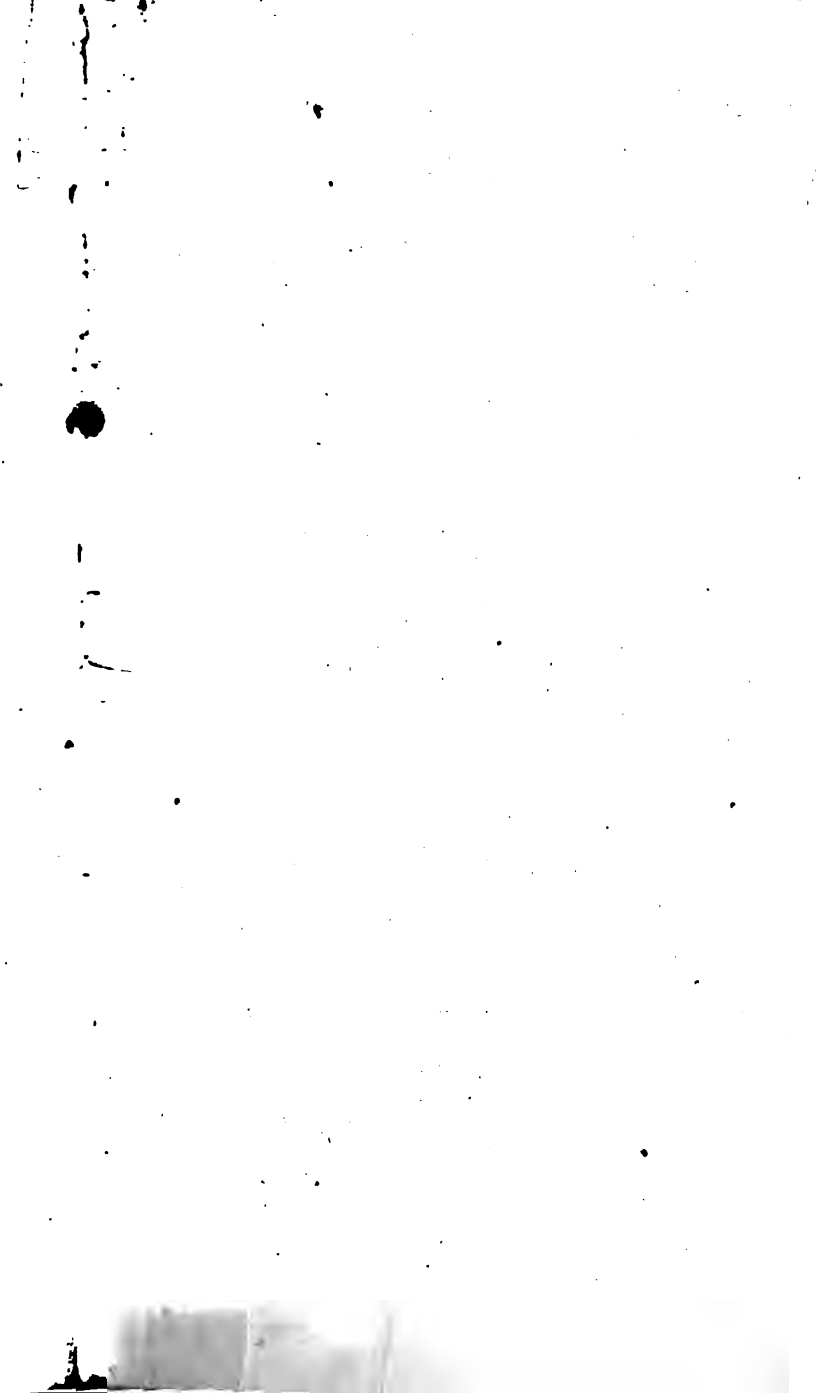
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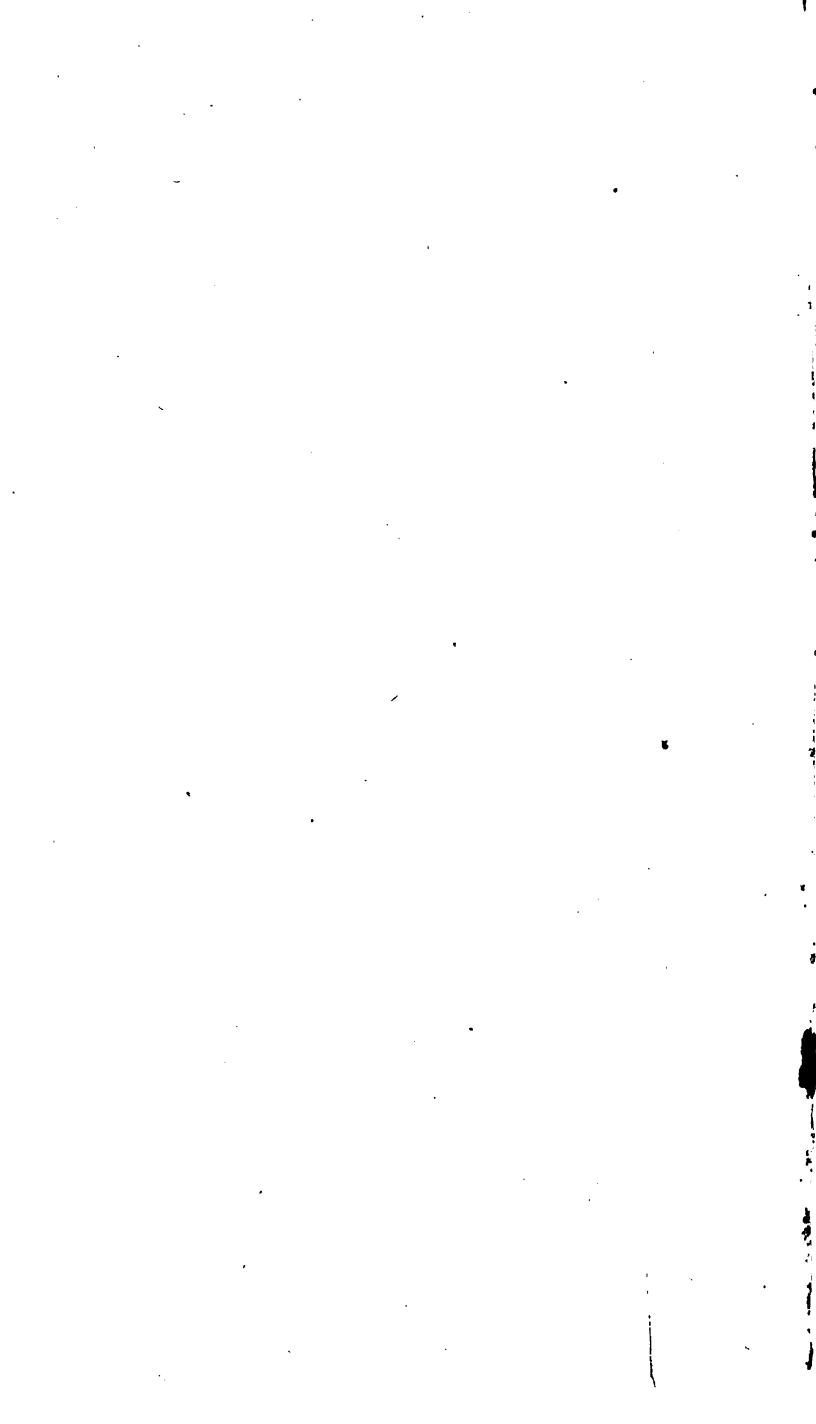
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HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, MEDES and PERSIANS, MACEDONIANS, AND GRECIANS.

Charles
By Mr. ROLLIN, late Principal of the University of
Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College,
and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and
Belles Lettres.

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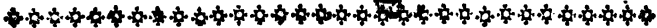
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THE
P R E F A C E.

SECT. I. *The Usefulness of Prophane History, chiefly with regard to Religion.*

THE Study of prophane History We are to observe in History besides Facts and Chronological Dates. would by no means deserve a serious Attention, or a long Application, if it was confin'd to a barren Knowledge of the Facts of Antiquity, and a dull Inquiry into the Dates and Years of every remarkable Event. It is of little Concern to us to know that there were once living such Men as *Alexander, Caesar, Aristides, Cato*, and that they flourish'd in this or that Year of the World; that the Empire of the *Assyrians* gave place to that of the *Babylonians*, this to the Empire of the *Medes* and *Persians*, who at last themselves yielded to the superior Force of the *Macedonians*, in their Turn swallow'd up in the mighty Empire of *Rome*.

BUT it is of great Importance to know by 1. The Reasons of the Elevation and Fall of Empires. what Methods these Empires were founded, by what Steps they rose to that Elevation of Gran- ities.

Grandeur which we admire, wherein consisted their solid Glory and real Happiness, and to what Causes their Decay and Fall were owing.

2. *The Genius and Character of the People and their Government.*

NOR is it less concerning to study carefully the Manners of the People, their Genius, their Laws, their Customs; and above all, to remark what were the Characters, the Talents, the Virtues, the very Vices of those who govern'd them, and who, by their good or bad Qualities, contributed to the Rise and Fall of the Empire, which had them for Conductors and Masters.

THESE are the great Objects which ancient History presents to our Understandings, bringing as it were in Review the Kingdoms and Empires of the old World before us, and along with them all the great Men who have distinguish'd themselves in any manner; by which we are instructed less by Precept than Example, above all in the Arts of Empire, in the Science of War, in the Principles of Government, in the Rules of Policy, in the Maxims of Civil Society, and the Conduct of Life proper to all Ages and Conditions.

3. *The Origin and Progress of Arts and Sciences.*

FROM hence likewise we learn, what no Man, who has a Taste and an Inclination for fine Learning, can be indifferent about, by what Means it was that Arts and Sciences were invented, cultivated, and brought to Perfection; here the Reader discovers and traces as it were with his Eye their Origin and Progress; and sees with Admiration that the nearer he approaches to those Places which were the Habitations of the Sons of Noah, the more he finds Arts and Sciences approach-

ing

ing to their Maturity. Whereas in Proportion as People were more removed, the greater was the Forgetfulness or Neglect of them: So that when they were to be reviv'd, Men were oblig'd to go back to the Source from which they originally flow'd.

I ONLY touch slightly upon these Objects, great as they are, because I have in another Place treated of them more at large.

BUT another Object infinitely more concerning ought to draw our Attention. For though prophane History exhibits to us only a People abandon'd to all the Follies of a superstitious Worship, and deliver'd up to all the Extravagances incident to human Nature, since the Fall of the first Man; It displays nevertheless copiously the Grandeur of God, his Power, his Justice, and above all, that admirable Wisdom with which his Providence conducts the Universe.

IF the full Conviction of this last Truth, according to *Cicero's* Remark, rais'd the *Roman* People above all other Nations of the Earth: One may in like manner affirm, that nothing more raises the Value of History above all other Knowledge, than that in it are found impress'd, in almost every Page, the precious Traces, and shining Displays of this great Truth, that God disposes all Things like a sovereign Master; determines the Fate of Prin-

¹ Pietate ac Religione, atque hac una Sapientia quod Decorum immortalium Numine omnia regi gubernarique per-

speximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus. *Orat. de Arusp. respons.* n. 19.

3d and 4th
Volumes
of the Method of Study.
4. and principally
the Connection which
Prophane History has
with Religion.

ces and the Continuance of Empires; and^b for the Injustice and Crimes of a sinful Nation, transfers the Government to a foreign People.

God has
shown a
more par-
ticular
Concern for
his own
People.

It must be own'd that in comparing the careful, the beneficent, the sensible Manner in which God once govern'd his peculiar People, and that with which he conducted the rest of the Nations, one might have, almost allowably, said that these were strange and indifferent to him. He regarded the holy Nation of the Jews as his proper Domain and Heritage. He there resided as a Master in his House, or a Father in his Family. *Israel* was his Son, his *First-born*. He was delighted to form this Son from his most tender Infancy, and to make his Instruction his own peculiar Care. He disclos'd himself to him by his Oracles: Govern'd him by Men miraculously rais'd for that Purpose: And protected him by a Display of the most astonishing Wonders. On Sight of so many glorious Privileges who wou'd not cry out with the Prophet, "*Judah* is his Sanctuary, and *Israel* his Dominion.

But not to
the Neglect
of other
Nations.

NEVERTHELESS this same God, tho' forgot by the Nations, and appearing as if he had forgot them, exercised always a sovereign Dominion over them, which, tho' it lay hid behind the Vail of ordinary Events, and a Management purely human, was not either less real or less divine. *The Earth is the Lords and the Fulness thereof*, says the Prophet, the

^b Regnum a Gente in Gentem transfertur propter Injustitias, & Injurias, & Contumelias, & diversos Dolos. *Ecclus.* 10.

World and they that dwell therein. This whole World he no more neglected than he did the *Jews*, though it was govern'd by him in a less obvious Manner. And it would be injurious to his Holiness to think of him as only the Master of one Family, and not of all Nations.

THIS important Truth is discover'd by going backwards to the most distant Antiquity, and the Origin of prophane History, I mean to the Dispersion of the Descendents of *Noah* into the different Countries of the Earth in which they establish'd themselves. Liberty, Chance, the Views of Interest, a Taste for one Country above another, and the like Motives were, to outward Appearance, the sole Causes of the different Choices which Men made in these Removes. But Scripture acquaints us, that amidst all the Confusion and Disorder which follow'd upon the sudden Change of the Language of the Descendents of *Noah*, God presid'd invisibly in their Counsels and Deliberations; that nothing was done there but by his Order; that it was he who conducted and placed all Men in the different Regions of the Earth according to the Rules of his Mercy and Justice. *The Lord scatter'd them abroad from thence upon the Face of the Earth.*

It is true that God had then his particular Regards for a People whom he was one Day to joyn in so strict an Alliance with himself.

* The Ancients themselves by the Testimony of Pindar (*Olymp. Od. 7.*) had retain'd some Idea that the Dispersion of Men was by no means the Effect of Chance, but that they were plac'd in the different Countries by divine Providence.

He mark'd out the Place destin'd for their Habitation, and deliver'd it into the Hands of a laborious People, who, by Cultivation and all manner of Embellishments, were to improve the future Inheritance of *Israel*. He committed it then to a like Number of Families, with that of those to which it was to be transferr'd in the Fulness of Time; and he permitted not one Nation, that was not under the Curse pronounced by *Noah* against *Chanaan*, to enter into a Heritage which was reserv'd intire for the *Israelites*. *Quando dividat Altissimus Gentes, quando separabat filios Adam, constituit Terminos populorum juxta numerum filiorum Israel*^d. But this particular Regard of God for his future People, is by no means contrary to that which he had for all other People, attested clearly from the Passages of Scripture just now quoted, which instruct us that the whole Succession of Ages is present to him, that every Thing falls out by his Order, and that from Age to Age all Events are only the Results of his Wisdom and Counsel. *Ex quo seculum est, in seculum inspicit.*

Ecclesi. 39. 24.
 God alone
 has fix'd
 the Fate of
 all Em-
 pires, whe-
 ther with
 regard to
 his Plan
 laid for the
 Govern-
 ment of
 the Uni-
 verse, or of
 his own

IT is therefore to be considered as an incontestable Principle, and as the Base and Foundation to the Study of prophane History, that the Establishment, the Continuance, and Destruction of Kingdoms and Empires, whether in the general Plan of the Universe known only to God (who carries on with wonder-

^d When the most High divided the Nations, and separated the Sons of *Adam*, he assigned the Bounds of the Peo-

ple according to the Number of the Children of *Israel*, [which he had in his View.] The sense given by some to this Passage.

ful

ful Order and Harmony all its Parts;) or in the particular one, regarding the People of *Israel*, and still more the *Messiah* and the Establishment of the Church (his great, his governing, and ever-present Design) were from all Eternity conducted, and predetermined by divine Providence. *Notum est a seculo domino opus suum.*

People, more particularly with regard to the Reign of his Son and the Establishment of the Church.

GOD has vouchsafed in his Scriptures to exhibit to us one Part of the Transactions of so many Nations of the Earth with his own People; and this Little which he has given us of them, diffuses a Light over the History of those Nations of which only the Surface and the Shell are known to us, without the Discoveries and Assistance which are to be had from Revelation. It is Revelation which brings to Light the secret Thoughts of Princes, their senseless Projects, their foolish Pride, their impious and cruel Ambition; which opens to us the true Causes and the hidden Springs of Victories and Defeats, of the Growth and Decay of Nations, of the Elevation and Ruin of States; and, which is the principal Fruit of History, it is from Revelation that we learn the Opinion which God had of Princes and Empires, and consequently the Ideas which we ought to form of them.

To pass over in silence the Kingdom of *Egypt* which at first serv'd as it were for a Cradle to the holy Nation; which afterwards became a cruel Prison, a burning Furnace to the same Nation, and next the Scene of the most astonishing Miracles that had been wrought by God in Favour of *Israel*: To

Powerful Kings rais'd up to punish or protect Israel.

ſpeak nothing, I ſay, of *Egypt*, the great Empires of *Nineveh* and *Babylon* furniſh a thouſand Proofs of what I here advance.

THEIR moſt puiſſant Kings, *Tiglath-Pe-
laſar*, *Salmanaſar*, *Sennacherib*, *Nabucha-
donoſor*, and ſeveral more were in the Hands
of God as ſo many Inſtruments which he
made Uſe of to puniſh the Prevarications of
fa 5. 26. his People: *He lifted up an Enſign to the
Nations from far, and hiſſ'd unto them from
the End of the Earth, to come and receive his
Orders*: He himſelf put the Sword into their
dem. c.
o. 28. 13. Hands: He appointed their daily Marches:
He fill'd their Soldiers with Courage, render-
ed their Armies indefatigable and invincible,
whiſt Terror and Conſternation march'd be-
fore them.

THE Rapidity of their Conqueſts might
have given them ſome Intimation of the in-
viſible Hand by which they were conducted.
ennachar.
dem. c.
o. v. 13,
4. But, ſays one of 'em in the Name of all the
reſt, “ By the Strength of my Hand I have
“ done it, and by my Wiſdom; for I am pru-
“ dent: And I have remov'd the Names of
“ the People, and have robbed their Trea-
“ ſuries, and I have put down the Inhabi-
“ tants like a valiant Man. And my Hand
“ hath found as a Neſt the Riches of the Peo-
“ ple: And as one gathereth Eggs that are
“ left, have I gathered all the Earth, and
“ there was none that mov'd the Wing, or
“ open'd the Mouth, or peeped.”

BUT what was this Prince, ſo great and ſo
wiſe in his own Eyes, what was he in the
Eyes of God? A Subaltern Officer, a Servant
ſent

sent upon his Master's Errand; *the Rod of* Ibid. v. 5.
his Anger, and the Staff in his Hand, It
 was God's Intention to correct, not to extir-
 pate his Children. But *Sennacharib* had it
in his Heart, to destroy and cut off Nations. v. 7.
 And what will be the Issue of this Sort of
 Contest between the Designs of God and those
 of this Prince? When he believ'd himself al-
 ready Master of *Jerusalem,* the Lord with v. 11.
 one Blast dissipated his proud Thoughts, slew
 a hundred fourscore and five thousand of his
 Men in one Night; and with *a Hook in his* 2 Kings
Nose, and a Bridle in his Lips, as if he had 19. 35.
 been leading some wild Beast, he sent him v. 28.
 back to his own Dominions all cover'd with
 Infamy, through the very Nations which had
 so lately seen him marching against *Jerusa-*
lem, in all the Pomp and Insolence of his
 Power.

NABUCHODONOSOR, King of *Ba-* Nabucho-
bylon, appears still a more visible Instance of a donosor.
 Prince govern'd by a Providence of which he
 is ignorant, but which presides in his Coun-
 cils, and determines his whole Conduct.

ARRIV'D with his Army at the Head of Ezech. 21.
 the two Ways, one leading to *Jerusalem,* and 19. 21.
 one to *Rabbah* the Capital of the *Ammonites,*
 this Prince, irresolute and fluctuating in his
 Counsels, deliberates which Way he shall take,
 and commits his Choice to the Determinati-
 on of a Lot. God makes it fall upon *Jerusa-*
lem, thus to accomplish his Menaces against
 that City, which were to destroy it, to burn
 its Temple, and lead its Inhabitants Cap-
 tive.

Idem, c.
26, 27,
28.

REASONS of Policy, abstracted from divine Necessity, seem'd to engage him rather in the Siege of *Tyrus*, not to leave behind him so powerful and well fortify'd a City; but the Siege of that Place was determin'd by a superior Will. God design'd on the one hand to chastise the Pride of *Ithobal* her King, who believing himself more enlighten'd than *Daniel*, fam'd over all the East, and ascribing singly to his own uncommon Wisdom the Extent of his Dominion, and the Grandeur of his Wealth, persuaded himself that he was a God, and sat in the Seat of God: On the other, he was resolv'd likewise to punish the Luxury, the Riot, the Arrogance of those insolent Merchants, who regarded themselves as Lords of the Sea, and Masters of Kings themselves; but above all, the inhuman Joy of *Tyrus*, which suggested to her, that her own Grandeur rose upon the Ruins of *Jerusalem*, her Competitor for Wealth and Glory. These were the Motives which determin'd God to conduct *Nabuchodonosor* to *Tyrus*, in Execution of his own Orders, tho' that Prince knew it not.

28. v. 2.

Idem, c.
28.—18,
20.

To recompense this Prince, who now fought under God, for the Services done by him in taking of *Tyrus*, and to make him Amends for the Loss of so many Forces as a Siege of thirteen Years had cost, "I will, said God, give the Land of *Egypt* unto *Nabuchodonosor* King of *Babylon*, and he shall take her Multitude, and take her Spoil, and take her Prey, and it shall be the Wages for his Army."

This is as-
terwards
enlarg'd
upon in
Pages 104,
105, 106.

THE same *Nabuchodonosor*, passionately de- Dan. c. 4
 sirsous to immortalise his Name by every pos-
 sible Way, was for adding to the Glory of
 Conquest that of Magnificence, by embellish-
 ing his Capital with stately Buildings, and
 the most expensive Ornaments. But whilst a
 flattering Court, enrich'd by his Bounties,
 and crown'd with Honours, was paying him
 its servile Adorations; an August Senate of
 Guardian Spirits which weigh in the Balance
 of Truth the Actions of Princes, and pro-
 nounce the irrevocable Sentence of their Fate,
 sat in Council. The King of *Babylon* was v. 17.
 cited before this Tribunal of the Sovereign
 Judge, who joins to a Vigilance which no-
 thing escapes, a Holiness which suffers no
 Disorder. Here his Actions, which the pub-
 lick Voice so applauded, were canvass'd with
 Rigour, and the very Bottom of his Heart was
 laid open to discover his most retir'd Thoughts.
 Where will be the End of this formidable In-
 quiry? In the very Moment that *Nabucho-*
donosor, walking in his Palace, and pleasing
 himself with the Ideas of his great Exploits,
 and of his present Grandeur and Magnifi-
 cence, said within himself, *Is not this great* v. 30.
Babylon that I have built for the House of
the Kingdom by the Might of my Power, and
for the Honour of my Majesty? In this criti-
 cal Moment of the flattering Ideas of his
 Power, and Empire, held independent of God,
 whose Place he usurp'd, a Voice from Hea-
 ven pronounc'd his Sentence, and declar'd to
 him, *that his Kingdom was departed from* v. 31, 32.
him, that he should be drawn from Men, and
his

his Dwelling be with the Beasts of the Field, until he knew that the most High ruled in the Kingdoms of Men, and gave them to whomsoever he would.

THIS Tribunal always subsisting, tho' invisible to mortal Eyes, has pronounc'd the same Judgment upon those famous Conquerors, those Heroes of Paganism, who, like *Nabuchodonosor*, look'd upon themselves as the sole Builders of their high Fortune, as independent upon any other Authority, and as only advanc'd by their own Strength or Wisdom.

Cyrus. IF God rais'd up some Princes to be the Ministers of his Vengeance, he likewise rais'd up others to be the Dispensers of his Bounties. He destin'd *Cyrus* to the Delivery of his People from Servitude; and to qualify him to support with becoming Dignity so ennobling a Ministry, he furnish'd him with all the Qualities requisite to a great Captain and a great Prince, and gave him that excellent Education so much admir'd by Pagans, who were equally ignorant of its Author, and the true Reason of it.

FROM profane Historians we may learn the Extent and Rapidity of his Conquests, his intrepid Bravery, his wise Views and Designs, the Grandeur of his Soul, his noble Generosity, his Affection for his Subjects truly paternal; and the Returns made him by a grateful People of Love and Affection for a Government which endear'd him to them, and represented him to their Thoughts rather in the Appearance of a Protector and a Father,

than

than of a Lord and Master. All this, I say, may be had from prophane Writers; but the secret Principle of all these shining Qualities, the Spring which puts them into Movement, are to be sought for in Authors of another Character.

ISAIAH affords us the Light, and delivers himself in Terms expressive of the Grandeur and Majesty of the God by whom he spake. He represents this God of Armies as holding *Cyrus* by the Hand, marching before, and conducting him from City to City, from Province to Province, *subduing Nations before him, loosening the Loins of Kings, breaking in Pieces Gates of Brass, cutting in sunder the Bars of Iron, laying Ramparts and Walls prostrate to give him an Entrance into Cities, and to put him in Possession of the Treasures of Darkness, and the hidden Riches of secret Places.*

THE Prophet suffers us not to be ignorant of the Motives of all these astonishing Events. It was to punish *Babylon*, to deliver *Judah* from Captivity, to rebuild the holy City and Temple, that *Cyrus* was thus conducted Step by Step, and prosper'd by God in all his Undertakings. *I have raised him up in Righteousness, and I will direct all his Ways— for Jacob my Servant's sake, and Israel mine Elect:* But this Prince, blind and ungrateful, knew not his Master, and forgot his Benefactor. *I have surnamed thee, tho' thou hast not known me.—I girded thee, tho' thou hast not known me.*

A fine Image of Royalty.

Dan. 4.
v. 11, 12.

THE Scripture not content with exhibiting to us in the Person of *Cyrus* the Model of a perfect King and Governour, his Religion excepted; presents us with an admirable Image in the Representation of a Tree large and strong *reaching unto Heaven* by its Height, and the Extremities of the Earth by its extended Branches. *Its Leaves were fair, and its Fruit much*, and it stood the Ornament and the Happiness of the Fields around it: *The Beasts of the Field had Shadow under it, and the Fowls of Heaven dwelt in the Boughs of it, and all Flesh was fed of it.*

Is there any Painting to be met with more just, more expressive of Royalty? Of Royalty, whose true Grandeur and solid Glory are not plac'd in that Lustre, that Pomp and Magnificence which surround it, nor in those exterior Respects and Homages pay'd, and indeed due to it, from the Subject: But in real Services and Advantages procured to the People, over whom its Nature and Institution have plac'd it as their Support, their Defence, their Security, their Asylum; in one word, as the fruitful Source of all their Enjoyments, more particularly to the Weak and the Helpless, who expect to find under the Shadow of Royalty, a Peace and a Tranquillity which nothing is capable to disturb, whilst the Prince himself sacrifices his own Repose, and singly sustains the Storms and Tempests, which he diverts from falling upon the Heads of others.

I FANCY that I see the Reality of this noble Image, the Execution of this fine Plan in the Govern-

Government of *Cyrus* exhibited to us in the admirable Preface of *Xenophon* to his History of that Prince. He there gives us a Catalogue of a multitude of Nations separated from one another by a vast Extent of Countries, and more still, by a diversity of Manners, Customs, Language; but all united in the same Sentiments of Esteem, Respect, and Love for a Prince, whose Government they cou'd have wish'd to have been everlasting, such were the Happiness and Tranquillity which they enjoy'd under his Empire^a.

To this Government so amiable, so beneficial, let us oppose the Idea given us in the same Scripture of those Empires and those Conquerors so boasted by Antiquity, who making the publick Happiness no part of their Cares, have only follow'd the private Views of Interest and Ambition. The Holy Ghost Dan. c. 7. represents them under the Symbols of Monsters produc'd from the Agitation of the Sea, from Trouble, Confusion and the Dashing of Surges: It represents them under the Image of cruel and savage Beasts, which every where scatter Terror and Desolation, and only subsist from Blood and Slaughter; Bears, Lions, Tygers, Leopards, what Imagery; what Painting is here!

NEVERTHELESS, from these frightful Models are the Rules too often taken which are to form the Children of the Great: These Ravagers of the World, these Scourges of

^a Ἐδουήθη ἐπιθυμίαν ἰμε-
 ρῆ τὸσαύτην τῶ πάντας αὐτῶ
 χαρίζεσθαι, ὡσε αἰετῆ αὐτῶ γνά-

μη ἀξίον κυβερνάει, p. 5. Edit.
 Hutchinson.

Mankind are proposed to their Imitation by thus exciting in them the Sentiments of an immoderate Ambition, the Love of a false
 Ezech. 19. Glory, they grow up to be *young Lions*,
 3, 7. they learn to catch the Prey and to devour Men,—to lay waste Cities, to turn Lands and their Fulness into Desolation by the Noise of their Roaring. Such are the Ideas which the Scriptures give us of these great Men grown up to Maturity of Years and Wickedness. The Noise of their Exploits, the Renown of the Victories of these confirm'd Lions are at the Bottom only Roaring, Terror and Desolation.

THE Instances which I have hitherto produc'd taken from the History of the *Egyptians*, the *Assyrians*, the *Babylonians*, the *Persians*, prove sufficiently the sovereign Dominion exercis'd by God over the Empires of the Earth, and the Relation which he has put between his own peculiar People, and those of other Nations. The same Truth appears equally clear when we go forwards to the Kings of *Syria* and *Egypt*, Successors of *Alexander* the Great, with whose History, every Man knows that of the People of God was closely connected under the Times of the *Maccabees*.

To all these Facts I cannot forbear adding another, commonly known indeed, but not less remarkable than these already related. This was the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*. When that Prince enter'd *Jerusalem*, and consider'd the Fortifications, Pagan: as he was, he own'd the all-powerful Arm of the God of
Israel

Israel, and struck with Admiration, cry'd out, "It is evident that God fought on our ^{Joseph. 1.} Sides, and drove the *Jews* from these Tow-^{3. c. 46.} ers, from which no human Strength, no "Engines could have forc'd them."

BESIDES this obvious and sensible Agree-^{God al-} ment betwixt prophane and sacred History, ^{ways regu-} there is another more secret and remote which ^{lates hu-} respects the *Messiah*, for whose Coming, God, ^{man E-} who has always his Work before his Eyes, ^{vents upon} prepared Men at a great Distance from it, ^{the Plan of} by the Ignorance and Disorder in which he ^{the Reign} suffer'd Mankind to be plung'd during the ^{of the Mes-} Space of four thousand Years. It was to let them see the Necessity of a Mediator, that God left the Nations to their own Ways, without any Possibility on the Side of Reason or Philosophy to dispel their Darkeness, or reform their vicious Inclinations.

WHEN the Grandeur of Empires, the Majesty of Princes, the shining Actions of great Men, the Order of well temper'd Societies, the Harmony of their different Members, the Wisdom of Law-givers, the Lights of Philosophers, are consider'd, the Earth seems to offer nothing to our Thoughts but what is great and surprising: But with all these fancied Advantages, it was in the Eyes of God barren and waste, as at the Instant of its Creation: It is too little to say, that it was *only corrupt before God, and fill'd with Violence* (I speak of the Pagan World) and the Receptacle of Men ungrateful and perfidious, as in the Times of the Deluge.

NEVERTHELESS the sovereign Arbiter of the World, who, according to the unerring Rules of his Wisdom, dispenses Light and Darkness, and knows how to check the impetuous Torrent of our Passions, suffer'd not human Nature, deliver'd up to its own Corruption, to degenerate into absolute Barbarity, and become entirely brutish, by an utter Extinction of the first Principles of the Law of Nature, which has been the Fate of some unhappy Nations. This Obstacle would have retarded too much the rapid Course promised by him to the first Preachers of the Kingdom of his Son.

HE scatter'd from ancient Time the Seed of many great Truths in the Minds of Men, to prepare them for the Reception of others more important. (He prepared them for the Instructions of the Gospel by those of Philosophy; and with this View permitted to the Schools of Heathen Professors the Discussion of Questions, and the Establishment of several Principles which have a near Affinity with Religion, and that the People should become attentive Hearers of those famous Disputes. It is known that Philosophers every where in their Writings teach the Existence of a God, the Necessity of a Providence presiding in the Government of the World, the Immortality of the Soul, the last End of Man, Rewards to the Good, and Punishments to the Bad, the Nature of Duties which are the Tie of Society, the Character of those Virtues which are the Basis of Morality, as Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance, and the

the like, which were indeed by no means capable to conduct Men to Righteousness, but serv'd to scatter some Clouds, to brighten up some Obscurities.

It is owing to the same Providence, which from afar prepared the Ways of the Gospel, that at the Time of the *Messiah's* Appearance in the World all Nations almost were united by the two Languages of *Greek* and *Latin*, that almost all Nations, however disunited in Speech, obey'd one Master from the Ocean to the *Euphrates*, and that Wars Domestick and Foreign were hush'd in a general Peace throughout the *Roman* Empire, to give a free Course to the preaching of the Apostles. The Study of prophane History when it is pursu'd with Judgment, and a ripen'd Understanding, must conduct us to these Reflections, and shew us how subservient God made the Empires of the Earth to the Establishment of that of his Son.

It must likewise shew us the real Value of Extraordi- all that appears with the greatest Lustre to the nary Tal- Eyes of the World, of all that is most capable ents be- to dazzle and blind it. Courage, Bravery, flow'd up- Dexterity in the Arts of Governing, profound on Pagant Politicks, the Dignity of Magistracy, Penetration of the most abstruse Sciences, Beauty of Mind, Delicacy of Taste in every Kind, Accomplishment in all Arts. These are the Objects with which prophane History entertains us, which draw our Admiration and often our Envy. But at the same time this very History ought to remind us that from the Beginning of the World God furnishes his Enemies

mies with all the shining Qualities so much esteem'd and celebrated; whereas he often denies them to his most faithful Servants on whom he pours Blessings of another and more important Value, but which are neither known
 Ps. 44. 13. nor desired by the World. *Happy is the People that is in such a Case; yea, happy is that People whose God is the Lord.*

ANOTHER Reflection, which follows naturally from what I have hitherto advanc'd, shall conclude this first Part of my Preface. Since it is certain that all these great Men so boasted in prophane History had the Unhappiness to know nothing of the true God, and to live in continu'd Disobedience to him, this is a Caution to us not to be over-lavish in the Praises which we bestow upon them. St. *Austin*, in the Book of his Retractions, testifies a Repentance for his having too much extoll'd *Plato* and his Sect, because, says he, both Master and Scholars were only impious Men, who in many Points advanc'd Doctrines contrary to Jesus Christ ^f.

BUT we are not to imagine that St. *Austin* thought it was in no Case permitted us to admire or praise what was excellent in the Actions, or true in the Maxims of *Pagans*. He would only have them purg'd of their Errors, with an Approbation of whatever is agreeable to sound Morality ^g. He praises the *Romans*

^f Laus ipsa, qua Platonem vel Platonicos seu Academicos Philosophostantum extuli, quantum impios homines non oportuit, non immerito mihi displicuit: Præsertim quorum contra Errores magnos defendenda est

Christiana Doctrina. *Retraff.* L. 1. c. 1.

^g Id in quoque corrigendum, quod pravum est; quod autem rectum est, approbandum. *De Bapt. contra Donat.* L. 7. c. 16.

on many Occasions, and more particularly in his Books of the *City of God*, one of his latest and finest Works. He there remarks, that God gave them the Conquest and Rule of a great Part of the Earth (he speaks of the best Times of the Commonwealth) because of the Equity and Moderation of their Government; thus rewarding Virtues purely human with Recompences which were likewise so, and with which this Nation, so enlighten'd in other Respects, blindly and unhappily sat down contented. It is not therefore the Praise bestow'd upon *Pagans*, but the Excess of it which is condemn'd by St. *Austin*.

WE, who by the Engagement of our Profession are continually conversant with *Pagan* Authors, ought to be particularly fearful of entering too far into the Spirit of them, of adopting insensibly their Sentiments in praising their Heroes, and so giving into Excesses, which they mistook for Virtues, because they knew none that were more pure: Some Persons, for whose Friendship I have the justest Regard, and whose Lights I reverence, have found this Defect in some Passages of the Work publish'd by me concerning the Education of Youth, and have thought I push'd too far the Praise of the great Men of *Paganism*. I own indeed, that Expressions too strong and not so well guarded have sometimes 'scap'd from me. I thought it had been sufficient to have inserted in each of the four Volumes which compose that Work, several Correctives without any Necessity of a Repetition, and laid down in different Places the Principles of the Fathers

* on this Subject, by declaring with St. *Austin*, that without true Piety, that is, without the true Worship of the true God, no Man can be truly virtuous; and that that Virtue is a meer Name which has human Glory for its Object^h.

WHEN I said that *Perseus* had not the Resolution to kill himself, I did not pretend to justify the Practice of *Pagans*, who believ'd Self-murder lawful, but simply to relate a Fact, and the Judgment of *Paulus Æmilius* upon it. A slight Corrective thrown into this Recital would have remov'd all the Ambiguity, and taken away all Subject of Complaint.

THE *Ostracism* executed at *Athens* upon the most deserving Men, Theft permitted, it seems, by *Lycurgus* at *Sparta*, an Equality of Goods authoritatively commanded in the same City, and other resembling Passages; may be attended with some Difficulties. I shall be particularly careful in my Sentiments on them when they fall in my Way, and with Pleasure make use of the Lights which Persons of Knowledge and Candour shall be pleas'd to honour me with.

IN a Work of this Nature which I am beginning for the Publick, destin'd more immediately to the Instruction of Youth, it were to be wish'd that no Expression, no Thought might be met with in it capable to instill into their Minds Principles false or dangerous. I

^h Illud constat inter omnes veraciter pios, nominem sine vera pietate, id est, veri Dei vero cultu, veram posse habere vir-

tutem; nec eam veram esse quando gloriæ servit humanæ. *De Civit. Dei. L. 3. c. 19.*

* Why did he not define the term virtue. If he had in his ideas of virtue with *Barlemaeus*, above position is false; & is contradicted by propole
34 p. 19. 4

propose this Maxim for my Imitation in the Prosecution of the Work, a Maxim of which I perceive the whole Importance: But I am far from believing that I have every where stuck to it, tho' that was my Intention; and I shall on this, as on so many other Occasions, stand in Need of all the Indulgence of my Readers.

SECT. II. *Particular Observations upon this Work.*

THE Volume here offer'd to the Publick, is the Beginning of a Work in which I propose to deliver the ancient History of the *Egyptians*, the *Carthaginians*, the *Assyrians* as well of *Nineveh* as *Babylon*, the *Medes*, the *Persians*, the *Macedonians*, and the different States of *Greece*: As I write principally for the Instruction of Youth and of Persons who desire no deep Insight into the History of these ancient Times, I shall not load this Work with Learning which indeed might have Room in it, but would be very foreign to my Design. This is in giving a continu'd History of Antiquity, to take from *Greek* and *Latin* Authors whatever appears most important as to Facts, and most instructive as to Reflections.

I COULD wish to avoid on one hand the Barrenness of Abridgments, which give us no distinct *Idea* of Facts, and on the other, the tedious Exactness of long Histories which oppress the Reader. I am sensible how difficult it is to steer exactly betwixt the two Extremes;

and though in the two Parts of the History of this first Volume, I have retrench'd a great deal of what was offer'd me by the Ancients, yet I know not but the Reader may still complain of my Prolixity; But I was afraid to murder Facts by a too confin'd Abridgment. The Taste of the Publick shall be my Rule, and I shall in the Course of this Work keep it always in View.

I HAD the Happiness not to displease it in my first Work, and should be glad to meet with the like Success here, but dare not hope for it. That Work treating of polite Learning, Poetry, Eloquence, Scraps of select and broken History, gave me a Liberty of inserting into it a Part of whatever was most engaging in ancient or modern Authors, whatever was most surprizing, delicate, or solid, as well for Expression as for Thought and Sense. The Beauty and the Solidity of the Things themselves offer'd to the Reader, made him less attentive, or more indulgent to the Manner of their Delivery; and besides, the Variety of the Matter compounded for the Want of those Arguments which might have been expected from the Style and the Composition.

HERE that Advantage is wanting to me. I am by no means entirely Master of my Choice. In a deduced History the Writer is oblig'd to insert a great many Things which are not always very affecting, chiefly the Origin and Rise of Empires; and such Parts of the Work are commonly sown thick with Thorns and present ~~with~~ very few Flowers. The Sequel will furnish more agreeable Matters and Events
more.

more engaging; here I shall not fail to open the precious Treasures left us by the best Authors. Till the Reader comes to those agreeable Places, I must intreat him to remember that a large and fine Country does not every where exhibit rich Harvests, fair Vineyards, smiling Meadows, fruitful Orchards; here and there Lands less improv'd, and more wild are to be met with. And to borrow a Comparison of the like Nature from *Pliny*ⁱ, amongst Trees some in the Spring Time emulously put forth infinite Blossoms; and by these rich Ornaments, whose Gaiety and lively Colours agreeably flatter the Eye, proclaim Plenty to a more distant Season. There are* *O-** As the Fig-Trees. others, which, tho' productive of good Fruits, are as it were cloath'd in perpetual Mourning, and seem to have no Part in the Joy of reviving Nature. It is easy to apply this Image to the Writing of History.

To embellish and enrich mine, I declare that I have been neither scrupulous, nor ashamed of pillaging every where, often without quoting the Authors from whom I transcribe, because I have sometimes taken the Liberty of making some slight Alterations. I make as much use as I can of the solid Reflections in the second and third Part of Mr. *Bosquet's*

ⁱ Arborum flos, est pleni veris indicium, & anni renascentis: Flos gaudium arborum. Tunc se novas, aliasque quam sunt, ostendunt: Tunc variis colorum picturis in certamen usque luxuriant. Sed hoc negatum plerisque. Non enim omnes

florent, & sunt tristes quaedam, quaeque non sentiant gaudia annorum; —neque ullo flore exhilarantur, natalesve pomorum recursus annuos vericolorum nuntio promittunt. *Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 16. cap. 25.*

Connection
of the Old
and New
Testament.

Universal History, which is one of the finest and most useful Works that we have. I receive likewise great Assistance from the History of the Learned *Englishman* Dean *Prideaux*, in which he has admirably search'd into and clear'd the Difficulties to be met with in ancient History. I shall thus use every thing which falls in my Way, by making it contribute all that I can to the Composition and Perfection of my Work.

I AM very sensible that the thus making use of other Men's Labours, is a sort of a Renunciation to the Title and Quality of an Author. But Jealousy is but little my Temper, and I should be very glad, and think my self extremely happy, in the Reputation of a good Compiler, and of having furnish'd out an Entertainment agreeable to my Readers, who will not be in much Pain what hand it comes from, provided themselves are pleas'd with it.

I CANNOT precisely determine the Number of Volumes which will be requir'd to finish my Undertaking, but already see that it will rise to not less than five or six. Young Scholars, any thing studious, may easily finish this Reading in the Course of one Year, separately from, and without Interruption given to their other Studies. In my Plan I destin'd the Second to this Reading; it is a Class in which Youth is capable of receiving Profit, and of finding Pleasure in these Studies; and I would reserve the *Roman* History for the Rhetorick Class.

It might have been useful, and even necessary to have given my Readers some Idea and

Know-

Knowledge of the Authors from whom this History is extracted. The Size to which this first Volume is swell'd allows me no Room to treat of this Subject in the Extent which it requires, and therefore I am oblig'd to reserve it to the Second.

IN the mean time I think my self oblig'd to say something by way of Extenuation concerning the superstitious Credulity with which the greatest part of these Authors are charg'd with regard to Auguries, Auspices, Dreams, Prodigies, Oracles. Indeed it is shocking to find Writers, in all other Regards so judicious, making it a Duty, and a sort of Law to themselves, to relate with a scrupulous Exactness, and with great Gravity dwell upon such low and ridiculous Ceremonies, as the Flight of Birds to the right or left Hand, Signs discovered in the smoaking Entrails of Beasts, the Application more or less with which Pullets fell to their Barly, and a thousand other Absurdities of the like Nature.

The Judgment which we are to make concerning the Auguries, Prodigies and Oracles of the Ancients.

It must be own'd that a sensible Reader cannot without Astonishment see Men the most renown'd for Learning and Wisdom amongst the Ancients, Captains the most uninfluenc'd by popular Opinions, and the most sensible of the Necessities of laying hold on favourable Moments, the Councils of Princes the most consummate in Policy and the Arts of Empire, the most august Assemblies of grave Senators; in one word, Nations at once the most powerful and enlighten'd; a Reader, I say, cannot without Astonishment behold all these through so many Ages, determining the great-
est

est Affairs by these little Usages and vain Observations, as the declaring of War, the fighting a Battle, pursuing a Victory; Deliberations these of the last Importance, and on which often hung the Destiny and Safety of States and Empires.

BUT we must at the same time be so just as to own that the Manners, the Customs, the Laws themselves suffer'd them not at that Time to depart from those Usages; that Education, paternal and immemorial Tradition, Persuasion and universal Consent of Nations, the very Precepts and Practice of Philosophers render'd these Usages venerable; and that these Ceremonies, absurd as they appear, and really were, made amongst the Ancients a Part of the Religion and publick Worship.

THIS Religion was false and this Worship mistaken. But the Principle was praise-worthy, and founded in Nature. The Stream was corrupted but the Fountain was pure. Man by his proper Lights knows nothing beyond the present. Futurity is to him an Abyss shut against the most subtle, the most penetrating Sagacity, which discovers nothing certain to him on which to fix his Views, and form his Resolutions. With regard to Execution he is neither less weak or impotent. He finds himself in an entire Dependance upon a sovereign Hand which disposes absolutely all Events, and, notwithstanding all his Efforts, all the Wisdom of his best concerted Measures, reduces him by the most inconsiderable Obstacles thrown in his Way by any cross Accident, to an utter Incapacity for the Execution of his Projects.

THESE

THESE Darknesses, this Weakness, oblige him to have Recourse to a Light and a Power superior to his own. His own Necessities, his Impatience for Success in his Undertaking, throw him at the Feet of him, who he knows has singly reserv'd to himself the Knowledge of Futurity, and the Power to dispose of it. He offers up Prayers, makes Vows, brings Sacrifices to this Being, to obtain of him a Revelation of his Will either by Oracles, or Dreams, or other Signs, fully convinc'd that nothing can happen without his Appointment; and that it is his last, his concerning Interest, to know the Will of this sovereign Being in order to conform and suit his Actions to it.

THIS religious Principle of Dependance and Homage, with regard to the supreme Being, is natural to Man. He carries it engraven on his Heart: Is reminded of it by the inward Calls of his own Indigence, and by every Object without him; and one may say, that this continual Recourse to the Deity, is one of the first Foundations of Religion, and the Tie which most closely unites Man to the Creator.

THOSE, who had the Happiness to know the true God, and to be chosen into the Number of his People, fail'd not to address him in their Needs and their Doubts, to obtain his Assistance and the Manifestation of his Will. He was graciously pleas'd to manifest himself to them, and to conduct them by Apparitions, by Dreams, by Oracles, by Prophecies; and to protect them by signal Wonders.

THOSE who were so blind as to adopt Lies for Truth, address'd themselves for the same Assistance to false and lying Deities, who could return no Answer to their Petitions, nor requite their Homage otherwise than by Error and Illusion, and deceitful Imitations of the Conduct of the true God.

FROM hence sprung the ridiculous Observations of Dreams, which a credulous Superstition made them mistake for the salutary Warning of Heaven; those dark or equivocal Answers of Oracles, under the Veil of which the Spirits of Darkness hid their Ignorance, and by a studied Ambiguity provided an Excuse for themselves, let the Event prove as it wou'd. From hence came those Prognosticks for Futurity which Men flatter'd themselves to find in the Entrails of Beasts, in the Flight and Singing of Birds, in the Aspect of Planets, in fortuitous Accidents, in the Caprices and Extravagancies of Fortune; those frightful Prodigies which fill'd a Nation with Terror, and made it fancy they were not to be expiated but by the most mournful Ceremonies, and sometimes even not without the Effusion of human Blood; lastly, those black Inventions of Magick, those Delusions, those Inchantments, those Sorceries, those Evocations of the Dead, and a Number of other Divinations.

ALL these Extravagancies were receiv'd, and generally observ'd by all the People of the Heathen World; and the Practice was founded upon the Principles of Religion, which I have just now summarily laid down. Of this we have a shining Proof in that Passage of
the

the Institution of *Cyrus*, when *Cambyfes*, Father of that Prince, gives him those fine Instructions so proper to form a great Captain and a great King. He recommends to him above all Things a sovereign Regard to the Gods, the beginning every Undertaking, great or small, with the Invocation of them; the humouring the Priests and Augurs who are the Ministers and Interpreters of their Will; but not to deliver himself up so implicitly and blindly to the Conduct of these Augurs, as to be ignorant himself of the Science of *Divination*, *Auguries*, and *Auspices*. And the Reason which he alledges for the Dependance of Princes upon the Gods, and their Interest to consult them on all Occasions, is, that let Men be ever so wise and acute in the Management of ordinary and daily Affairs, yet their Views are very narrow and limited with Regard to Futurity; whereas the Deity with one Glance of his Eye takes in all Ages and all Events. “As the Gods are immortal, *said* Cambyfes to his Son, they know equally Things past, present and to come. Those of their Worshippers to whom they are propitious, receive from them the necessary Lights to direct their Actions, where to proceed, or to stop. And if the same Warnings are not given by them to all Men it is no Wonder, since no Necessity obliges them to a Care of those on whom they have no Intention to bestow their Favours”.

SUCH was the Doctrine of People the most inlighten'd with regard to the different Sorts of Divinations; and it is no Wonder that

Historians

Cyrop.
Lib. 1.
p. 98.
Edit.
Hutchin-
son.

Historians, who writ the History of those People, thought themselves oblig'd to deliver carefully so essential a Part of their Religion and Worship, the Soul often of their very Deliberations, and the Rule of their Conduct. I thought it incumbent on me for the very same Reason, not entirely to suppress every thing relating to this Subject, tho' I have retrench'd a good deal.

I INTEND to put at the End of this Work a Chronological Abridgment of the Facts, and an Index of Matters.

ARCHBISHOP *Usher* is usually my Guide in Chronology. In the History of the *Cartaginians* I commonly set down four *Epoques*; the Year of the World's Creation signify'd by these Letters, *A. M.* those of the Foundation of *Carthage* and *Rome*, and lastly the Years before the Birth of Christ; and I suppose with *Usher* and others that this Birth fell out in the Year of the World 4004.



THE ANCIENT
HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSY-
RIANS, BABYLONIANS, MEDES and
PERSIANS, MACEDONIANS, and
GRECIANS.

*The Origin and Progress of the Establishment
of Kingdoms.*

IN order to know how those States and Kingdoms were form'd, into which the World hath been divided, by what Steps they arrived to that Degree of Greatness recorded in History, by what Bands Families and Cities united themselves so as to compose one Body or Society, and live together under the same Authority and the same Laws; it will be proper to go back, as I may say, to the Infancy of the World, and to those Days when Men dispersed into several Countries after the

INTRODUCTION.

Confusion of Tongues, began to people the Earth.

IN those early Times every Father was the supreme Head of his own Family, the Umpire and Judge of the Differences that arose in it, the natural Law-giver of the little Society that was under him, the Defender and Protector of those, who, by their Birth, Education, and Weakness, were plac'd under his Safe-guard, and whose Interest his Tenderness rendered as dear to him as his own.

How independent soever the Authority of those Masters might be, they never used it but as Fathers, that is, with a great deal of Moderation. Little jealous of their Power, they never thought to domineer, nor imperiously to decide. As they found themselves necessarily obliged to take in others to their Assistance in their domestick Labours, they also admitted them into their Deliberations, and consulted them upon any Emergencies. Thus all was unanimously done, and for the common Good.

THE Laws established by the paternal Care in this little domestick Senate, being dictated by no other Motive but the publick Advantage, concerted with the eldest Children, and received by the younger with a full and free Consent, were religiously observed, and kept in Families as an hereditary Policy, wherein consisted their Peace and Security.

DIFFERENT Motives gave Rise to different Laws. A Man, over-joy'd at the Birth of a Son which first made him Father, endeavour'd to distinguish him among his Brethren by giving him a larger Portion of his Goods, and
a more

INTRODUCTION.

a more considerable Authority in his Family: Another studying the Advantage of a dearly beloved Wife, or a favourite Daughter whom he was willing to settle in the World, thought himself obliged to secure their Rights, and increase their Advantages. The solitary and helpless State which a Wife might fall into by becoming a Widow, moved a third to provide before-hand for the Subsistence and Comfort of a Person who was the Delight of his Life. From these and the like different Views sprung the different Customs of People, and the almost infinitely various Rights of Nations.

and these rights are the same
IN proportion as every Family increased by the Birth of Children and the Multiplicity of Alliances, their small Demefne was enlarged, and they came by degrees to form Villages and Towns.

THESE Societies growing in time very numerous, and Families being divided into several Branches, each of which had its particular Head, who might by their different Characters and Interests disturb the publick Peace, it was found necessary to commit the Government to the Hands of one Person, in order to unite all these Heads under the same Authority, and to maintain the publick Peace by an uniform Administration. The Idea of the paternal Government that was still fresh in Men's Minds, and the successful Experience that had been made of it, inspir'd them with the Thoughts of chusing from among the best and wisest, him who was most eminent for a fatherly Temper and Disposition. In this choice Ambition

INTRODUCTION.

and Caballing had no Share: Probity alone and the being fam'd for Equity and Virtue were the Things that decided, and gaye the Preference to the most deserving^a,

To give their new Dignity the greater Lustre, and to put them in a Capacity of procuring Respect to the Laws, of devoting themselves entirely to the publick Good, of defending the State against the Invasions of Neighbours, and the Attempts of male-contented Citizens, the Name of *King* was given them, a Throne was erected for them, and a Scepter put into their Hand; to them Homage was paid, Officers and Guards assigned, Tributes granted; and they were entrusted with a full Power to administer Justice, for which Purpose they were armed with the Sword to restrain Injustice, and punish Crimes.

EACH Town had at first its own King, who being more desirous of preserving than of enlarging his Dominions, confined his Ambition within the Bounds of his Native Country^b. Quarrels that are almost unavoidable amongst Neighbours, Jealousy of a more powerful Prince, an active and restless Spirit, warlike Dispositions, the Desire of rising and of displaying one's Abilities, gave occasion to Wars, which often ended in the entire Subjection of the conquered, whose Towns pass'd under the Dominion of the Conqueror, and by degrees enlarged his Territories: By these

^a Quos ad fastigium hujus majestatis non ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos moderatio provehebat. *Justin. l. 1. c. 1.*

^b Fines imperii tueri magis quam proferre mos erat. Intra suam cuique patram regna finiebantur. *Justin. Ibid.*

means,

INTRODUCTION.

means, one Victory begetting another, and rendering the Prince more powerful and enterprising, many Cities and Provinces became united under one Monarch, and formed Kingdoms of a larger or lesser Extent, according as the Conqueror pushed his Conquests with more or less Vigour.

AMONG these Princes some there were whose Ambition finding itself too much confined within the Bounds of one Kingdom, run'd on all Sides, like a Torrent or a Sea, swallowed up Kingdoms and Nations, and gloried in dispossessing Princes who had done them no manner of Injury, in carrying Fire and Desolation far and near, and in leaving every where bloody Tokens of their having been there. Such was the Original of those famous Empires, which ingross'd great part of the World.

PRINCES made a different Use of their Victories, according to the diversity of their Characters or Interests. Some looking upon themselves as absolute Masters of the conquered, and thinking it enough to grant them their Lives, deprived them and their Children of their Goods, their Country, their Liberty; reduced them to a hard Slavery; put them upon those Employments that are necessary for the Support of Life; set them to the meanest Drudgery about the House; or to toil in the Fields; and often compelled them by in-

Domitis proximis, cum accessione visum fortior ad alios transirent, & proxima quæque

victoria instrumentum sequentis esset, totius orientis populos subegit. *Justin. Ibid.*

human

INTRODUCTION.

human Treatment to dig in the Mines, and ransack the Bowels of the Earth to satisfy their Avarice. Hence Mankind came to be divided into *Freemen* and *Slaves*, *Masters* and *Servants*.

OTHERS introduced the Custom of carrying away whole Nations with their Families into new Countries, where they made them settle, and gave them Lands to cultivate.

OTHERS, yet more gentle, were satisfied with making the conquered People redeem their Liberty, and the Use of their Laws and Privileges, by annual Tributes imposed upon them; and sometimes they even left the Kings upon their Thrones, and exacted from them no more than some sort of Homage.

THE wisest and most politick made it their Glory to establish a kind of Equality between the new conquer'd Nations and their Subjects, granted to the vanquished Freedom, and almost all the same Rights and Privileges as the others enjoyed. By this means, of many Nations dispersed in the World, they made as it were but one City, or at least but one People.

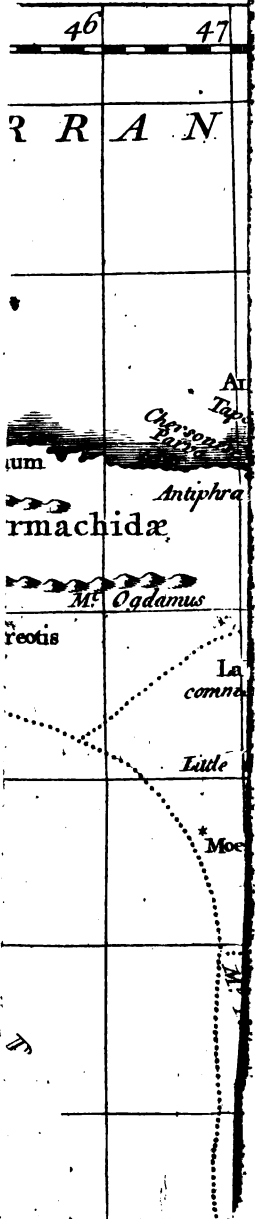
THIS is a short and general Idea of what the History of Mankind presents us with, and which I shall endeavour to describe more particularly, in treating of each Empire and Nation. I shall not meddle with the History of the People of God, nor with that of the *Romans*. The *Egyptians*, *Carthaginians*, *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians*, *Macedonians* and *Grecians*, shall be the Subject
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rians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians,
 cedonians and Grecians, shall be the Si

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

of the Work the first Volume whereof I here, give the Publick. I begin with the *Egyptians and Carthaginians*, because the former are very ancient, and have not so close a Connexion with the rest of the History, whereas other Nations are more interwoven, and sometimes do even succeed one another.



BOOK

BOOK I.

THE ANCIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS.

I shall divide what I have to say concerning the *Egyptians* into Three Parts. The First shall contain a short Plan and Description of the several Parts of *Egypt* with what is most remarkable and curious. In the Second, I shall speak of the Customs, Laws, and Religion of the *Egyptians*. In the Third and Last, I shall give the History of the Kings of *Egypt*.

PART





H. Gravelot, inv. et delin.

Labas, sculp.

ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT.

— Published Feb. 1. 1754. by J. & P. Knapton.




PART the FIRST.

THE
DESCRIPTION
OF
EGYPT:

WITH AN

ACCOUNT of whatever is most curious and remarkable in that country.

 EGYPT comprehended anciently, within limits that were not of a very wide extent, a * prodigious number of cities, and an incredible multitude of inhabitants.

It is bounded on the east by the Red-Sea and the Isthmus of Suez; on the south by Ethiopia, on the west by Libya, and on the north by the Mediterranean. The Nile runs from south to north, thro' the whole country, about two hundred leagues in length. This country is inclosed on each side with a ridge of mountains, which very often leave, between the foot of the hills and the river Nile, a tract of ground of not above half a day's journey in length†, and sometimes less.

* It is related that under Amasis, there were twenty thousand inhabited cities in Egypt, Herod.

Lib. 2. cap. 177.

† A day's journey is 24 eastern, or 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ English miles.

ON the west-side, the plain grows wider in some places; and extends to twenty-five or thirty leagues. The greatest breadth of Egypt is from Alexandria to Damietta, being about fifty leagues.

ANCIENT Egypt may be divided into three principal parts; Upper Egypt, otherwise called Thebais, which was the most southern part; Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis, so call'd from the seven Nomi or districts it contain'd; Lower Egypt which included what the Greeks call Delta, and all the country as far as the Red-Sea, and along the Mediterranean to Rhinocolura, or Mount Casius. Under Sesostris, all Egypt became one kingdom, and was divided into thirty-six governments or Nomi; ten in Thebais, ten in Delta, and sixteen in the country between both.

THE cities of Syene and Elephantina divided Egypt from Ethiopia; and in the days of Augustus were as bounds to the Roman Empire. *Claustra olim Romani Imperii*, Tacit. Annal. Lib. 2. Cap. 61.

C H A P. I.

T H E B A I S.

THEBES, from whence Thebais had its name, might vie with the noblest cities in the universe. Its hundred gates celebrated by Homer, are universally known; and acquir'd it the surname of Hecatonpylos, to distinguish it from another Thebes lying in Bœotia. It was as large as populous; and according to history, could send out at once two hundred chariots, and ten thousand fighting-men at each of its gates. The Greeks and Romans have celebrated its magnificence and grandeur, though they beheld its ruins only, so august were the remains of this city.

IN Thebes, now call'd Sayd, have been discover'd temples and palaces which are still almost entire, adorn'd with innumerable columns and statues. One palace

Strabo,
Lib. 17.
p. 787.

Hom. II.
l. v. 381.

Strab. Lib.
17. p. 816.

Tacit.
Ann. Lib.
2. c. 60.

Theve:
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palace

palace especially is admir'd, the remains whereof seem to have existed purely to eclipse the glory of the most pompous edifices. Four walks extending farther than the eye can see, and bounded on each side with sphinxes, composed of materials as rare and extraordinary as their size is remarkable; serve for avenues to four porticos, whose height is amazing to behold. Besides, they who give us the description of this wonderful edifice, had not time to go round it; and are not sure that they saw above half: however, what they had a sight of, was astonishing. A hall, which in all appearance stood in the middle of this stately palace, was supported by an hundred and twenty pillars six fathoms round, of a proportionable height and intermix'd with obelisks, which so many ages have not been able to demolish. Painting had display'd all her art and magnificence in this edifice. The colours themselves, that is things which soonest feel the injury of time, still hold amidst the ruins of this wonderful structure, and preserve their beauty and lustre; so happily could the Egyptians imprint a character of immortality on all their works. Strabo, who was on the spot, describes a temple he saw in Egypt, very much resembling this I have been speaking of.

Lib. 17.
P. 805.

THE same author, describing the curiosities of Thebais, speaks of a very famous statue of Memnon, the remains whereof he had seen. 'Tis said that this statue, when the beams of the rising sun first shone upon it in the morning, gave an articulate sound*. And indeed Strabo himself was an ear-witness of this; but then he doubts whether the sound came from the statue.

p. 816.

* Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum præcipua fuere Memnonis

Statua Effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens; &c. Tacit. Ann. l. 2. c. 61.

C H A P. II.

M I D D L E E G Y P T or H E P T A - N O M I S.

M E M P H I S was the capital of this part of Egypt. Here were many stately temples, especially that of the god Apis, who was honour'd in this city after a particular manner. I shall speak of it hereafter, as well as of the pyramids which stood in the neighbourhood of this place, and rendered it so famous. Memphis was situated on the west-side of the Nile.

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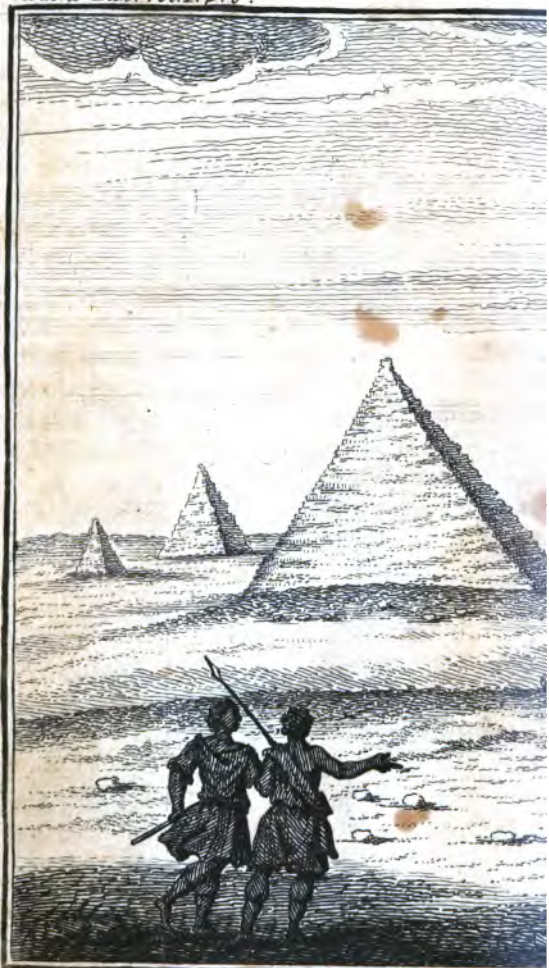
G R A N D C A I R O, which seems to have succeeded Memphis, was built on the other side of that river. The castle of Cairo is one of the greatest curiosities in Egypt. It stands on a hill without the city; has a rock for its foundation, and is surrounded with walls of a vast height and solidity. You go up to the castle by a way hewn out of the rock, and which is so easy of ascent, that loaded horses and camels get up without difficulty. The greatest rarity in this castle is Joseph's well, so call'd, either because the Egyptians are pleased with ascribing their most remarkable particulars to that great man, or because there is really such a tradition in the country. This is a proof at least, that the work in question is very ancient; and 'tis certainly worthy the magnificence of the most powerful kings of Egypt. This well, has as it were, two stories, cut out of the rock to a prodigious depth. One descends to the reservoir of water, between the two wells, by a stair-case seven or eight foot broad, consisting of two hundred and twenty steps, and so contrived, that the oxen employed to throw up the water go down with all imaginable ease, the descent being scarce perceptible. The well is supplied from a spring, which is almost one in the whole country. The oxen are continually

tra-
vels.

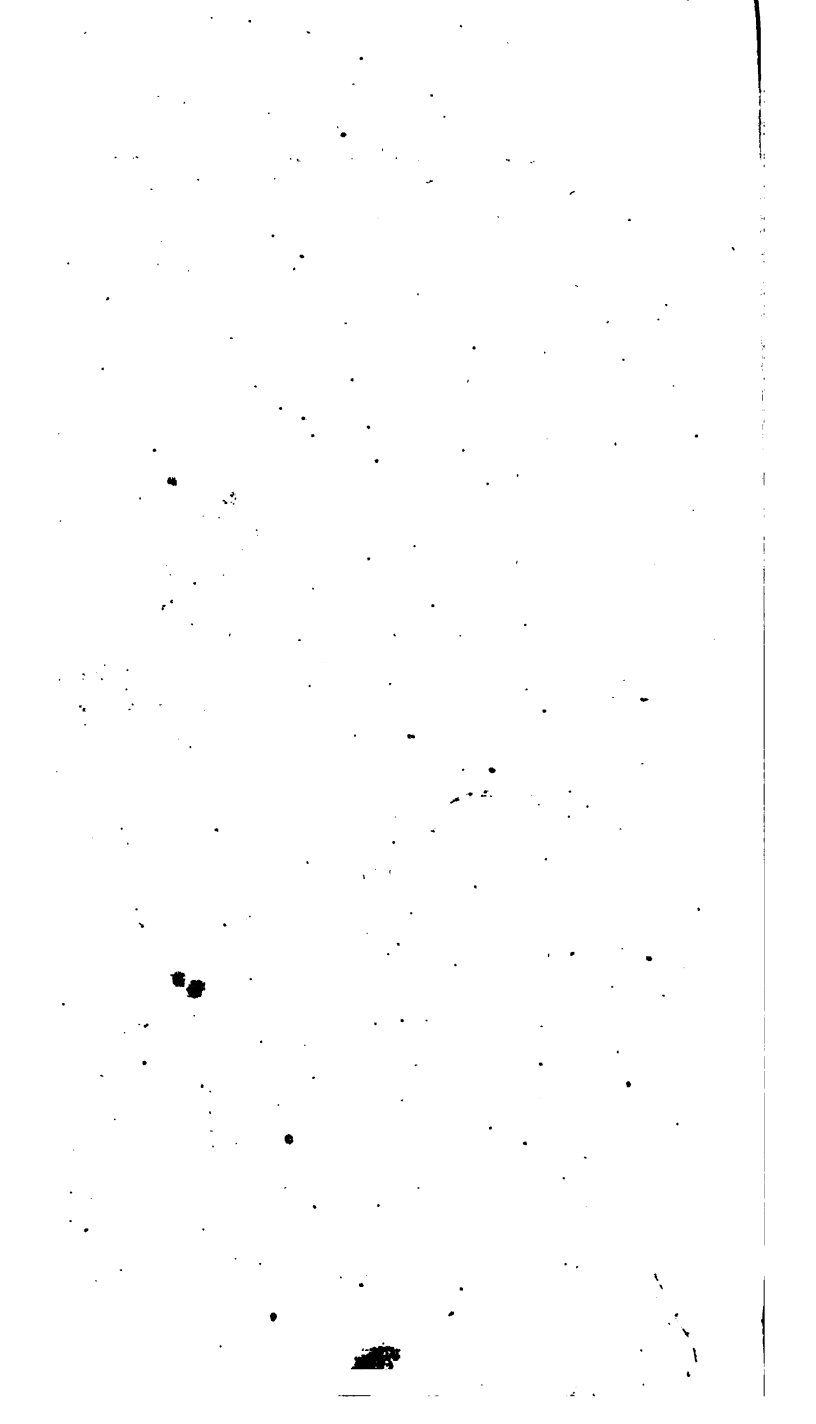


Egyptian Obelisks now at Rome
Published Febr. 1^o 1754. by J. & P. Knapton.





The Pyramids of G.



continually turning a wheel with a rope, to which are fastened buckets. The water thus drawn from the first and lowermost well, is conveyed by a little canal, into a reservoir, which forms the second well; from whence it is drawn to the top in the same manner, and then conveyed by pipes to all parts of the castle. As this well is supposed by the inhabitants of the country, to be of great antiquity, and has indeed much of the antique way of the Egyptians, I thought it might deserve a place among the curiosities of ancient Egypt.

STRABO speaks of such an engine, which, by wheels and pullies, threw up the water of the Nile to the top of a vast high hill; with this difference, that, instead of oxen, an hundred and fifty slaves were employed to turn these wheels. Lib. 17.
p. 807.

THIS part of Egypt we are treating of, is famous for several rarities, each of which deserves a particular examination. I shall relate only the principal, such as the obelisks, the pyramids, the labyrinth, the lake of Moeris and the Nile.

SECT. I. *The OBELISKS.*

EGYPT seemed to place its chief glory in raising monuments for posterity. Its obelisks form at this day, on account of their beauty as well as height, the principal ornament of Rome; and the Roman power, despairing to equal the Egyptians, thought it honour enough to borrow the monuments of their kings.

AN obelisk is a quadrangular, taper, high spire or pyramid, raised perpendicularly and terminating in a point, to serve as an ornament to some open square; and is very often filled with inscriptions or hieroglyphicks, that is, with mystical characters or symbols, used by the Egyptians to conceal and disguise their sacred things, and the mysteries of their religion.

Diod. l. 1. 1.
27.

SEſOSTRIS erected in the city of Heliopolis two obeliſks of an extreme hard ſtone, brought from the quarries of Syene, at the extremity of Egypt. They were each one hundred and twenty cubits high, that is, thirty fathoms, or one hundred and eighty ~~feet~~*. The emperor Auguſtus, having made Egypt a province of the empire, cauſed theſe two obeliſks to be transported to Rome, one whereof was afterwards broke to pieces. He durſt not venture upon a third, which was of a monſtrous ſize. It was made in the reign of Ramifeſ: 'Tis ſaid, that twenty thouſand men were employed in the cutting of it. Conſtantius, more daring than Auguſtus, ordered it to be removed to Rome. Two of theſe obeliſks are ſtill ſeen, as well as another of an hundred cubits or twenty five fathoms high, and eight cubits or two fathoms in diameter. Caius Cæſar had brought it from Egypt in a ſhip of ſo odd a form, that, according to Pliny, the like had never been ſeen.

lin. 1. 36.
8, and 9

bid. c. 9.

EVERY part of Egypt abounded with this kind of obeliſks; they were for the moſt part cut in the quarries of Upper Egypt, where ſome are now to be ſeen half finiſhed. But the moſt wonderful circumſtance is, that the ancient Egyptians ſhould have had the art and contrivance to dig even in the very quarry a canal, through which the water of the Nile ran in the time of its inundation; from whence they afterwards raiſed up the columns, obeliſks and ſtatues on rafts † proportioned to their weight, in order to convey them into Lower Egypt. And as the country abounded every where with canals, there were few places to which theſe huge bodies might not be carried with eaſe; although their weight would have broke every other kind of engine.

* It muſt be obſerved, once for all, that an Egyptian cubit, according to Mr. Greaves, was 1 foot 9 inches and about $\frac{1}{4}$ of our

measure.
† Rafts are pieces of flat timber put together, to carry goods on rivers.

SECT. II. *The PYRAMIDS.*

A PYRAMID is a solid or hollow body, having a large, and generally a square base, and terminating in a point. Herod. l. 2. c. 124, &c. Diod. l. 1. p. 39-41. Plin. lib. 36. c. 12.

THERE were three pyramids in Egypt more famous than the rest, one whereof * deserv'd to be rank'd among the seven wonders of the world; they did not stand very far from the city of Memphis. I shall take notice here only of the largest of the three. This pyramid, like the rest, was built on a rock, having a square base, cut on the outside as so many steps, and decreasing gradually quite to the summit. It was built with stones of a prodigious size, the least of which were thirty foot, wrought with wonderful art, and covered with hieroglyphicks. According to several ancient authors, each side was eight hundred foot broad, and as many high. The summit of the pyramid, which to those who viewed it from below, seem'd a point, was a fine platform compos'd of ten or twelve massy stones, and each side of that platform sixteen or eighteen foot long.

M. des Chazelles of the academy of Sciences, who went purposely on the spot in 1693, gives us the following dimensions :

The side of the square base 110 fathoms.

The fronts are equilateral triangles, and therefore the superficies of the base is } 12100 square fathoms.

The perpendicular height 477½ fathoms.

The solid contents 313590 cubical fathoms.

AN hundred thousand men were constantly employed about this work, and were relieved every three months by the same number. Ten complete Years were spent in hewing out the stones, either in Arabia or Ethiopia, and in conveying them to

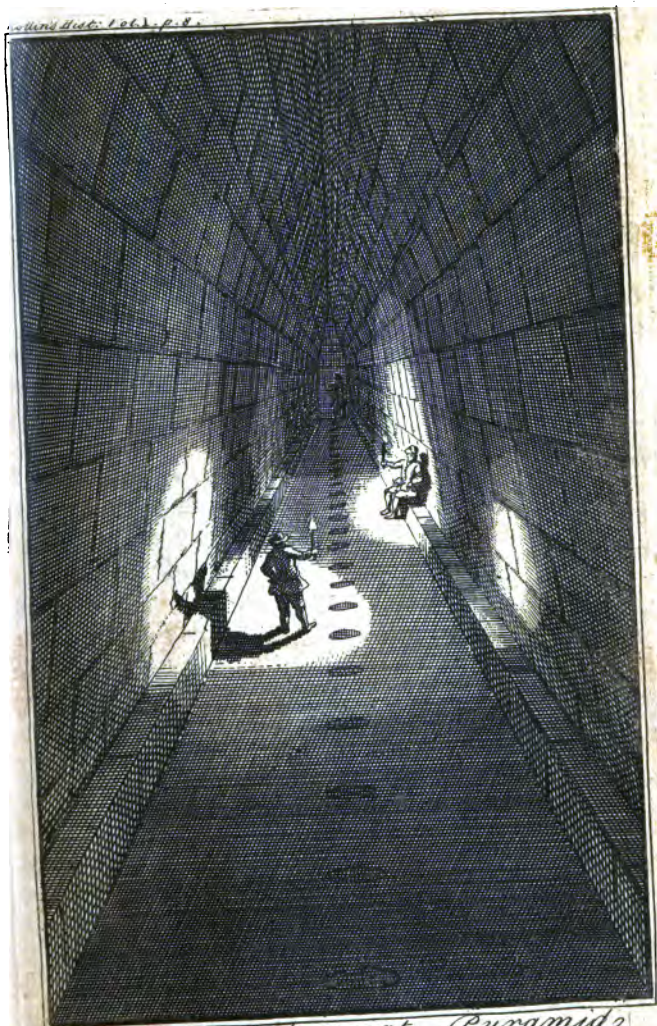
* Vide Diod. Sic.

Egypt; and twenty years more in building this immense edifice, the inside of which contained numberless rooms and apartments. There was expressed on the pyramid, in Egyptian characters, the sums it cost only in garlick, leeks, onions and the like for the workmen; and the whole amounted to sixteen hundred talents of silver; that is, four millions five hundred thousand French livres; from whence it was easy to conjecture, what a vast sum the whole must have amounted to.

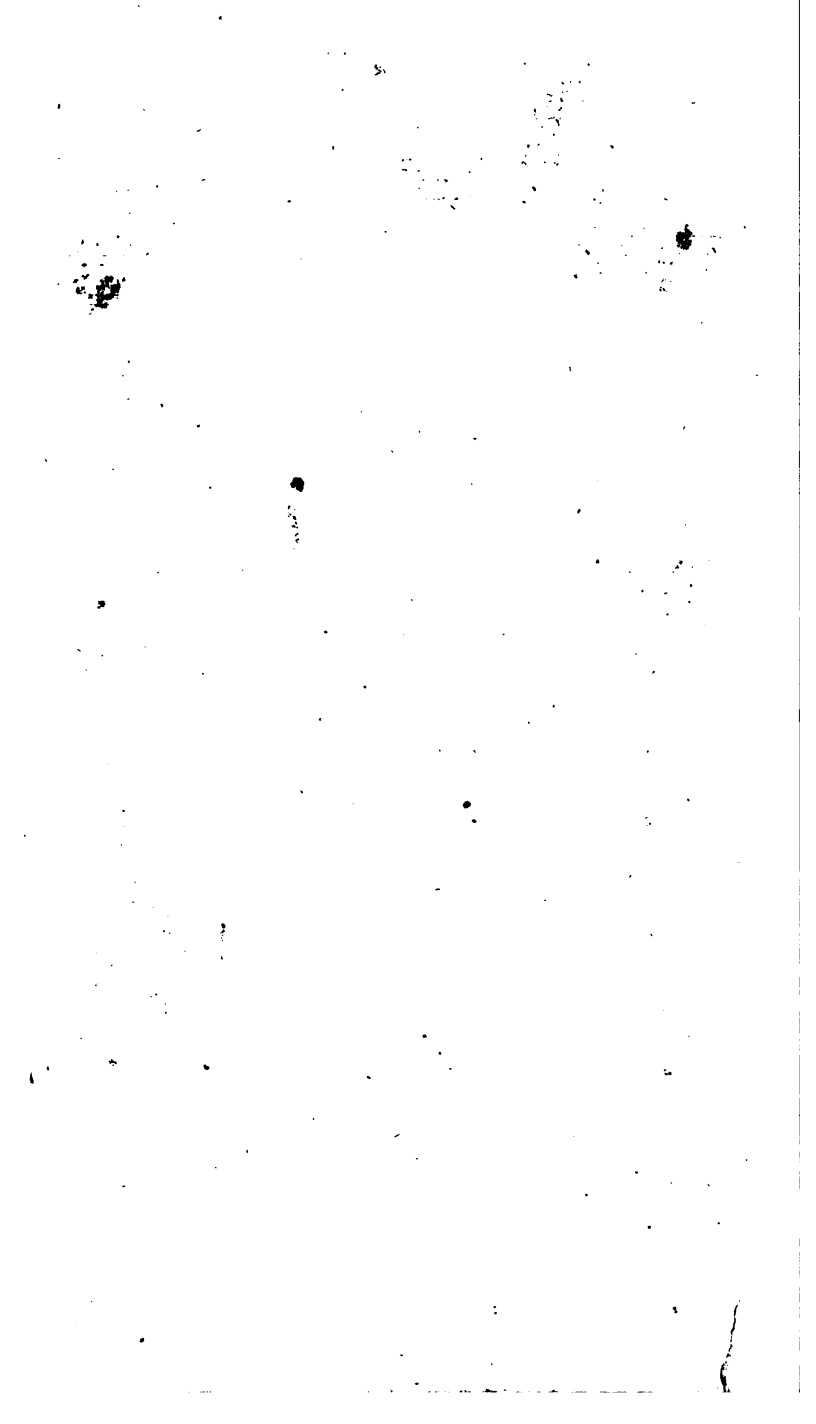
SUCH were the famous Egyptian pyramids, which by their figure, as well as size, have triumphed over the injuries of time and the Barbarians. But what efforts soever men may make, their weakness will always be apparent. These pyramids were tombs; and there is seen at this day, in the middle of the largest, an empty sepulchre, cut out of one entire stone, about three foot deep and broad, and a little above six foot long*. Thus all this bustle, all this expence, and all the labours of so many thousand men ended in procuring a prince, in this vast and almost boundless pile of building, a little vault six foot in length. Besides, the kings who built these pyramids, had it not in their power to be buried in them; and so did not enjoy the sepulchre they had built. The publick hatred which they incurred, by reason of their unheard-of cruelties to their subjects, in laying such heavy tasks upon them, occasioned their being interred in some obscure place, to prevent their bodies from being exposed to the fury and vengeance of the populace.

d. l. r. 49. THIS last circumstance which historians have taken particular notice of, teaches us what judgment we ought to pass on these edifices, so much boasted of by the ancients. It is but just to remark and esteem the noble genius which the Egyptians had for architecture; a genius that prompted them from the

* Strabo mentions the sepulchre, Lib. 17, p: 808.



The Inside of the great Pyramid
Published Ed. 1. 1754. by G. & P. Knappcon.



very first, and before they could have any models to imitate, to aim in all things at the grand and magnificent; and to be intent on real beauties, without swerving ever so little from a noble simplicity, in which the highest perfection of art consists. But what idea ought we to form of those princes, who considered as something grand, the raising by a multitude of hands, and by the help of money, immense structures, with the sole view of rendering their names immortal; and who did not scruple to destroy thousands of their subjects to satisfy their vain glory. They differed very much from the Romans, who sought to immortalize themselves by works of a magnificent kind, but which at the same time were of public use.

PLINY gives us in few words, a just idea of these pyramids, when he calls them a foolish and useless ostentation of the wealth of the Egyptian kings; *Regum pecuniæ otiosa ac stulta ostentatio*. And adds, that by a just punishment their memory is buried in oblivion; the historians not agreeing among themselves about the names of those who first raised those vain monuments. *Inter eos non constat a quibus factæ sint, justissimo casu oblitteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus*. In a word, according to the judicious remark of Diodorus, the more the industry of the architects of these pyramids is valuable and praise-worthy, the more the attempt of the Egyptian kings is contemptible, and deserves censure.

BUT what we should most admire in these ancient monuments, is, the true and standing evidence they give of the skill of the Egyptians in astronomy; that is, in a science which seems incapable of being brought to perfection, but by a long series of years, and a great number of observations. M. de Chazelles, when he measured the great pyramid in question, found that the four sides of it were turned exactly to the four quarters of the world; and consequently shewed the true meridian of that place. Now, as so exact a situation,

tuation, was in all probability purposely pitch'd upon by those who pil'd up this huge mass of stones, above three thousand years ago; it follows, that during so long a space of time, there has been no alteration in the heavens in that respect, or (which amounts to the same thing) to the poles of the earth or the meridians. This is M. de Fontenelles remark in his elogium of M. de Chazelles.

SECT. III. *The LABYRINTH.*

WHAT has been said concerning the judgment we ought to form of the pyramids, may also be applied to the labyrinth, which Herodotus, who saw it, assures us was still more surprising than the pyramids. It was built at the most southern part of the lake of Mœris, whereof mention will be made presently, near the town of Crocodiles, the same with Arfinoe. It was not so much one single palace, as a magnificent pile composed of twelve palaces, regularly disposed, and which had a communication with each other. Fifteen hundred rooms interspersed with terrasses, were ranged round twelve halls, and discovered no outlet, to such as went to see them. There were the like number of buildings under ground. These subterraneous structures were designed for the burying-place of the kings, and, (who can speak this without confusion and without deploring the blindness of man!) for keeping the sacred crocodiles, which a nation, so wise in other respects, worshipped as gods.

IN order to visit the rooms and halls of the labyrinth, 'twas necessary, as the reader will naturally suppose, for people to take the same precaution as Ariadne made Theseus use, when he was obliged to go and fight the Minotaur in the labyrinth of Crete. Virgil describes it in this manner.

And

Herod. l. 2.
c. 148.
Diod. l. 1.
p. 42.
Plin. l. 36.
c. 13.
Strab. l. 17.
p. 811.

And as the Cretan labyrinth of old,
 With wandring ways, and many a winding fold,
 Involv'd the weary feet without redress,
 In a round error, which deny'd recess:
 Not far from thence he grav'd the wond'rous maze;
 A thousand doors, a thousand winding ways *

* Ut quondam Creta fertur labyrinthus in alta
 Parietibus textum cæcis iter ancipitemque
 Milie viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi
 Falleret indeprensus & irremcabilis error,
 Hic labor, ille domus & inextricabilis error,
 Dædalus ipse dolos tecti ambageque resolvit,
 Cæca rævens filo vestigia.

Virg. l. v.
 v. 589, &c.

l. vi. v. 27,
 &c.

SECT. IV. *The lake of MOERIS.*

THE noblest and most wonderful of all the structures or works of the kings of Egypt, was the lake of Moëris; accordingly, Herodotus considers it as vastly superior to the pyramids and labyrinth. As Egypt was more or less fruitful in proportion to the inundations of the Nile; and as in these floods, the too general flow or ebb of the waters were equally fatal to the lands; king Moëris, to prevent these two inconveniences, and correct, as far as lay in his power, the irregularities of the Nile, thought proper to call art to the assistance of nature; and so caused the lake to be dug, which afterwards went by his name. This * lake was about three thousand six hundred stadia, that is, about one hundred and eighty French leagues, and three hundred feet deep. Two pyramids, on each of which stood a colossal statue, seated on a throne, raised their heads to the height of three hundred feet, in the midst of the lake, whilst their foundations took up the same space under the water; a proof that they were erected before the cavity was filled, and a demonstration that a lake of such vast extent was the work of man's hands,

Herod. l. 2.
 c. 149.
 Strab. l. 17.
 p. 787.
 Diod. l. 1.
 p. 47.
 Plin. l. 5.
 c. 9.
 Pomp.
 Mela, l. 1.

* Vide Herod. and Diod. Pliny agrees almost with them.

in one prince's reign. This is what several historians have related concerning the lake Mæris, on the testimony of the inhabitants of the country. And the bishop of Meaux, in his discourse on universal history, relates the whole as fact. With regard to my self, I will confess, that I don't in the least probability in it. ~~It is~~ impossible to conceive, that a lake of an hundred and eighty leagues in circumference could have been dug in the reign of one prince? In what manner, and where, could the earth taken from it be conveyed? What should prompt the Egyptians to lose the surface of so much land? By what arts could they fill this vast tract with the superfluous waters of the Nile? Many other objections might be made. In my opinion therefore, we ought to follow Pomponius Mela, an ancient geographer; especially as his account is confirm'd by several late travellers. According to that author, this lake is but twenty thousand paces, that is, seven or eight French leagues, in circumference. *Mæris, aliquando campus, nunc lacus, viginti millia passuum in circuitu patens.*

Mela L. 1.

THIS lake had a communication with the Nile, by a great canal, four leagues long*, and fifty foot broad. Great sluices either opened or shut the canal and lake, as there was occasion.

THE charge of opening or shutting them, amounted to fifty talents, that is, fifty thousand French crowns. The fishing of this lake brought the monarch immense sums; but its chief use related to the overflowing of the Nile. When it rose too high, and was like to be attended with fatal consequences, the sluices were open'd; and the waters, having a free passage into the lake, cover'd the lands no longer than was necessary to enrich them. On the contrary, when the inundation was too low, and threatned a famine; a sufficient quantity of water, by the help of drains, was let out of the lake, to water the lands.

* Eighty-five Stadia.

In this manner the irregularities of the Nile were corrected; and Strabo remarks, that in his time, under Petronius a governour of Egypt; when the inundation of the Nile was twelve cubits, a very great plenty ensued; and even when it rose but to eight cubits, the dearth was scarce felt in the country; doubtless, because the waters of the lake made up for those of the inundation, by the help of canals and drains.

Rollin

SECT. V. *The Inundations of the N I L E.*

THE Nile is the greatest wonder of Egypt. As it seldom rains there, this river, which waters the whole country by its regular inundations, supplies that defect, by bringing, as a yearly tribute, the rains of other countries; which made a poet say ingeniously, *The Egyptian pastures, how great soever the drought may be, never implore Jupiter for rain.*

*Te propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres
Arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Jovi*.*

To multiply so beneficent a river, Egypt was cut into numberless canals, of a length and breadth proportioned to the different situation and wants of the lands. The Nile brought fertility every where with its salutary streams; united cities one with another, and the Mediterranean with the Red-Sea, maintained trade at home and abroad, and fortified the Kingdom against the enemy; so that it was at once the nourisher and protector of Egypt. The fields were delivered up to it; but the cities that were rais'd with immense labour, and stood like islands in the midst of the waters, look'd down with joy on the plains which were overflowed, and at the same time enrich'd by the Nile.

* Seneca (Nat. Quest. l. 4. c. 2.) ascribes these verses to Ovid, but they are Tibullus's.

This

THIS is a general idea of the nature and effects of this river, so famous among the ancients. But a wonder so astonishing in itself, and which has been the object of the curiosity and admiration of the learned in all ages, seems to require a more particular description, in which I shall be as concise as possible.

1. *The source of the Nile.*

THE ancients placed the sources of the Nile in the mountains of the moon (as they are commonly call'd) in the 10th degree of south-latitude. But our modern travellers have discovered that they lie in the 12th degree of north-latitude: and by that means they cut off about four or five hundred leagues of the course which the ancients gave to that river. It rises at the foot of a great mountain in the kingdom of Goyam in Abyssinia, from two springs, or eyes, to speak in the language of the country, the same word in Arabick signifying eye or fountain. These springs are thirty paces from one another, each as large as one of our wells or a coach-wheel. The Nile is increas'd with many rivulets which run into it; and after passing through Ethiopia in a meandrous course, flows at last into Egypt.

8. *The cataracts of the Nile.*

THAT name is given to some parts of the Nile, where the water falls down from the steep rocks*.

This

* Excipiunt eum (Nilum) cataractæ, nobilis insigni spectaculo locus. . . . Illic excitatis primum aquis, quas sine tumultu leni alveo duxerat, violentus & torrens per malignos transitus profilit, dissimilis sibi . . . tandemque eluctatus obstantia, in

vastam altitudinem subito destitutus cadit, cum ingenti circumjacentium regionum strepitu; quem perferre gens ibi a Persis collocata non potuit; obtusis assiduo fragore auribus, & ob hoc sedibus ad quietiora translatis. Inter miracula fluminis incredibilem

This river, which first glided smoothly along the vast deserts of Ethiopia, before it enters Egypt, passes by the cataracts. Then growing on a sudden, contrary to its nature, raging and violent in those places where it is pent up and restrained; after having at last broke through all obstacles in its way, it precipitates from the top of some rocks to the bottom, with so loud a noise, that it is heard three leagues off.

THE inhabitants of the country, accustomed by long practice to this sport, exhibit here a spectacle to travellers that is more terrifying than diverting. Two of them go into a little boat; the one to guide it, the other to throw out the water. After having long sustained the violence of the raging waves, by managing their little boat very dextrously, they suffer themselves to be carried away with the impetuous torrent as swift as an arrow. The affrighted spectator imagines they are going to be swallowed up in the precipice down which they fall; when the Nile, restored to its natural course, discovers them again, at a distance, on its smooth and calm waters. This is Seneca's account, which is confirmed by our modern travellers.

3. Causes of the inundations of the Nile.

THE ancients have invented many subtil reasons for the Nile's great increase, as may be seen in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus and Seneca. But it is now no longer a matter of dispute (it being almost

bilem incolarum audaciam accipi. Bini parvula navigia conscendunt, quorum alter navem regit, alter exhaurit. Deinde multum inter rapidam insaniam Nili & reciprocos fluctus volutari, tandem tenuissimos canales tenent, per quos angusta rupium effugiunt: & cum toto flumine effusi, navigium ruens

manu temperant, magnoque spectantium metu in caput nixi, cum jam adploraveris, merisofque atque obrutos tanta mole credideris, longe ab eo in quem ceciderant loco navigant, tormenti modo missi. Nec mergit cadens unda, sed planis aquis tradit. Senec. Nat. Quast. l. 4. c. 2.

Herod. l. 2. c. 19-27. Diod. l. 1. p. 35-39. Senec. Nat. Quast. l. 4. c. 1. & 2.

universally allowed, that the inundations of the Nile are owing to the great rains which fall in Ethiopia, from whence this river flows. These rains swell it to such a degree, that Ethiopia first, and then Egypt, are overflow'd; and that which at first was but a large river, rises like a sea, and overspreads the whole country.

Lib. 17.
P. 789.

STRABO observes, that the ancients only guess'd that the inundations of the Nile were owing to the rains which fall in great abundance in Ethiopia; but adds, that several travellers have since been eye-witnesses of it. Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was very curious in all things relating to arts and sciences, having sent thither able persons purposely to examine this matter, and to ascertain the cause of so uncommon and remarkable a circumstance.

for
selves

the ba

for th. The time and continuance of the inundations.

Herod.

lib. 2. 19.
Dist. 1. 1.

HERODOTUS, and after him Diodorus Siculus, and several other authors, declare, that the Nile begins to flow in Egypt at the summer-solstice, that is, about the end of June, and continues to rise till the end of September; and then decreases gradually during the months of October and November; after which it returns to its channel, and resumes its wonted course. This account agrees almost with the relations of all the moderns, and is founded in reality on the natural cause of the inundation, viz. the rains which fall in Ethiopia. Now, according to the constant testimony of those who have been on the spot, these rains begin to fall in the month of April, and continue, during five months, till the end of August and beginning of September. The Nile's increase in Egypt must consequently begin three weeks or a month after the rains have begun to fall in Abyssinia; and accordingly travellers observe, that the Nile begins to rise in the month of May, but so slowly at first, that it probably does not yet

overflow

overflow its banks. The Inundation hap^{pened} till about the end of June, and lasts the three^{or} re- ing months, according to Herodotus.

I MUST point out such as consult the origi^{nal} a contradiction in this place between Herodotus Diodorus on one side; and on the other betw^{een} Strabo, Pliny and Solinus. These last shorten v^{ery} much the continuance of the inundation; and su^{ppose} the Nile to draw off from the lands in thrē months or a hundred days. And that which adds to the difficulty, is, Pliny seems to ground his opinion on the testimony of Herodotus: *In totum autem revocatur Nilus intra ripas in libra, ut tradit Herodotus, centesimo die.* I leave to the learned the reconcil^{ing} of this contradiction.

5. The height of the inundations.

* THE just height of the inundation, according to Pliny, is sixteen cubits. When it rises but to twelve or thirteen, a famine is threaten'd; and when it exceeds sixteen, there is danger. It must be remember'd, that a cubit is a foot and half. The Emperor Julian takes notice in a letter to Ecdicius prefect of Egypt, that the height of the Nile's overflowing was fifteen cubits, the 20th of September, in 362. The ancients do not agree entirely with one another, nor with the moderns, with regard to the height of the inundation; but the difference is not very consi^{derable} derable, and may proceed, 1. From the^{ir} self over all between the ancient and modern measur^{es} of the Nile are 'tis hard to estimate on a fixed and cert^{ain} number of ca^{ns} 2. from the carelessness of the observa^{tion} which flow into

* Justum incrementum est cubitorum 16. Minores aquæ non omnia rigant: ampliores detinent tardius recedendo. Hæ ferendi tempora absument solo madentes illæ non dant sitiente. Utrumque reputat provincia.

In duobus July and August, in each part of them rit: quiritatem esse canals, there curitatem, cannot receive the Plin. l. 5. is want is sup-

1.9 = 1.9 2/4

univer *The* D E S C R I P T I O N

are ov^{er} 3. from the real difference of the Nile's in-
from e, which was not so great the nearer it ap-
such ch'd the sea.

are as the riches of Egypt depended on the inunda-
larg^e of the Nile, all the circumstances and different
courses of its increase have been carefully consider'd;

Lib. 17.
P. 789.

d by a long series of regular observations, made du-
ring many years; the inundation itself discover'd what
kind of harvest the ensuing year was likely to produce.

The Kings had placed at Memphis a measure on
which these different increases were marked; and
from thence notice was given to all the rest of Egypt,
the inhabitants of which knew, by that means, be-
for- thiſhand, what they might fear or promise them-
-selves mon from the harvest. Strabo speaks of a well on
the banks of the Nile near the town of Syene, made
for that purpose.

Herod.

l. 2. c. 19.

Diod. l. 1.

P. 32.

THE same custom is observed to this day at Grand
Cairo. In the court of a mosque there stands a pil-
lar, on which are mark'd the degrees of the Nile's
increase; and common criers every day proclaim in
all parts of the city, how high it is risen. The tri-
bute paid to the Grand Signior for the lands, is fet-
tled by the inundation. The day it rises to such a
height, is kept as a grand festival; and solemniz'd
with fire-works, feasting, and all the demonstra-
tions of publick rejoicing; and in the remotest ages,
in rem^{embrance} of the flowing of the Nile was always attended
the rains universal joy throughout all Egypt, that
to the consuntain of its happiness.

on the spot, hens ascrib'd the inundation of the Nile
April, and Serapis; and the pillar on which was
end of August rise, was preserv'd religiously in the
Nile's increase in. The Emperor Constantine hav-
three weeks or a m^{onth} remov'd into the church of Alex-
fall in Abyssinia; ans spread a report, that the Nile
that the Nile beg^{an} by reason of the wrath of Sera-
but so slowly at er overflow'd and increas'd as usual
ars. *Julian the Apostate*, a zealous
protector

protector of idolatry, caus'd this pillar to be replaced in the same temple, out of which it was again remov'd by the command of Theodosius.

6. *The canals of the Nile and spiral pumps.*

DIVINE Providence, in giving so beneficent a river to Egypt, did not thereby intend, that the inhabitants of it should be idle, and enjoy so great a blessing, without taking any pains. One may naturally suppose, that as the Nile could not of itself cover the whole country, great labour was to be us'd to facilitate the overflowing of the lands; and numberless canals cut, in order to convey the waters to all parts. The villages, which stood very thick on the banks of the Nile on eminences, had each their canals, which were open'd at proper times, to let the water into the country. The more distant villages had theirs also, even to the extremitie of the Kingdom. Thus the waters are successively convey'd to the most remote places. Persons are not permitted to cut the trenches to receive the waters, till the river is at such a height, nor to open them all together; because otherwise some lands would be too much overflow'd, and others not covered enough. They begin with opening them in Upper, and afterwards in Lower Egypt, according to the rules prescribed in a roll or book, in which all the measures are exactly set down. By this means the water is disposed with such care, that it spreads itself over all the lands. The countries overflowed by the Nile are so extensive, and lie so low, and the number of canals so great, that of all the waters which flow into Egypt during the months of June, July and August, 'tis believed that not a tenth part of them reaches the sea.

BUT as, notwithstanding all these canals, there are abundance of high lands which cannot receive the benefit of the Nile's overflowing; this want is sup-

plied by spiral pumps, which are turned with oxen, in order to bring the water into pipes, which convey it to these lands. Diodorus speaks of such an engine (called *Coclea Aegyptia*) invented by Archimedes in his travels into Egypt.

Lib. 1.
p. 30. &
l. 5. p.
313.

7. *The fertility caus'd by the Nile.*

THERE is no country in the world where the soil is more fruitful than in Egypt; which is owing entirely to the Nile †. For whereas other rivers, when they overflow lands, wash away and exhaust their vivific moisture; the Nile, on the contrary, by the excellent slime it brings along with it, fattens and enriches them in such a manner, as sufficiently compensates for what the foregoing harvest had impair'd. The husbandman, in this country, never tires himself with holding the plough, or breaking the clods of earth. As soon as the Nile retires, he has nothing to do but to turn up the earth, and temper it with a little sand, in order to lessen its rankness; after which he sows it with great ease, and with little or no expence. Two months after, it is covered with all sorts of corn and pulse. The Egyptians generally sow in October and November, according as the waters draw off, and their harvest is in March and April.

THE same land bears, in one year, three or four different kinds of crops. Lettices and cucumbers are sown first; then corn; and, after harvest, several sorts of pulse which are peculiar to Egypt. As the sun is extremely hot in this country, and the rains fall very seldom in it; 'tis natural to suppose, that the earth would soon be parched, and the corn and pulse burnt up by so scorching

† Cum cæteri amnes abluant terras & eviscerent; Nilus adeo nihil exedit nec abradit; ut contr. adjiciat vires. . . . Ita

juvat agros duabus ex causis, quod inundat, & quod oblimat. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. 4. c. 2.

heat, were it not for the canals and reservoirs with which Egypt abounds; and which, by the drains from thence, amply supply wherewith to water and refresh the fields and gardens.

THE Nile contributes no less to the nourishment of cattle, which is another source of wealth to Egypt. The Egyptians begin to turn them out to grass in November, and they graze till the end of March. Words could never express how rich their pastures are; and how fat the flocks and herds, (which, by reason of the mildness of the air, are out night and day) grow in a very little time. During the inundation of the Nile, they are fed with hay and cut straw, barley and beans, which are their common food.

A MAN cannot, says Corneille le Bruyn in his travels, help observing the admirable Providence of God to this country, who sends at a fixed season such great quantities of rains in Ethiopia, in order to water Egypt, where a shower of rain scarce ever falls; and who, by that means, causes the driest and most sandy soil, to become the richest and most fruitful country in the universe. Vol. 2.

ANOTHER thing to be observed here, is that, (as the inhabitants say) in the beginning of June and the four following months, the north-east winds blow constantly, in order to keep back the waters which otherwise would flow too fast; and to hinder them from discharging themselves into the sea, the entrance to which these winds bar up, as it were from them. The ancients have not omitted this circumstance.

THE same Providence, whose ways are wonderful and infinitely various, displayed itself after a quite different manner in Palestine, in rendering it exceedingly fruitful, not by rains, which fell during the course of the year, as is usual in other places; nor by a peculiar inundation like that of the Nile in Egypt; but by sending fixed rains at two seasons, when the people were obedient to God, to make them more Multiformis sapientia.
Eph. 3.10.

sensible of their continual dependence upon him. God himself commands them, by his servant Moses, to make this reflection. *The land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed and waitest it with thy foot as a garden of herbs: But the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven.* After this, God promises to give his people, so long as they shall continue obedient to him, *the former and the latter rain*: The first in autumn, to bring up the corn; and the second in the spring and summer, to make it grow and ripen.

8. *Two different prospects exhibited by the Nile.*

THERE cannot be a finer sight than Egypt at two seasons of the year*. For if a man ascends some mountain, or one of the largest pyramids of Grand Cairo, in the months of July and August, he beholds a vast sea, in which numberless towns and villages appear, with several causeys leading from place to place; the whole interspers'd with groves and fruit-trees, whose tops are only visible, all which forms a delightful prospect. This view is bounded by mountains and woods, which terminate, at the utmost distance the eye can discover, a most lovely sky. On the contrary, in winter, that is to say, in the months of January and February, the whole country is like one continued scene of beautiful meadows, whose verdure, enamelled with flowers, charms the eye. The spectator beholds, on every side, flocks and herds dispersed over all the plains, with infinite numbers of husbandmen and gardeners. The air is then perfumed by the great quantity of blossoms on the

* Illa facies pulcherrima est, cum jam se in agros Nilus ingessit. Latent campi, opertæque sunt valles: oppida insularum modo extant. Nullum in medi-

terraneis, nisi per navigia, commercium est: majorque est lætitia in gentibus, quo minus terrarum suarum vident. *Sens. Nat. Quæst. l. 4. c. 2.*

orange, lemon, and other trees; and is so pure that a wholesomer or more agreeable is not found in the world; so that nature, being then dead as it were, in all other climates, seems to be alive only for so delightful an abode.

9. *The canal formed by the Nile, by which a communication is made between the two seas.*

THE canal, by which a communication was made Herod. between the Red-Sea and the Mediterranean, ought I. 2. c. 158. to have a place here, as it was not one of the least Strab. advantages which the Nile procured Egypt. Sesostris, I. 17. p. 804. or according to others Psammetichus, first projected Plin. I. 16. the design, and begun this work. Necho, successor c. 29. to the last Prince, laid out immense sums upon it, Diod. I. 1. p. 29. and employed a prodigious number of men. 'Tis said, that above sixscore thousand Egyptians perished in the undertaking. He gave it over, terrified by an oracle, which told him that he thereby would open a door for Barbarians (for by this name they called all foreigners) to enter Egypt. The work was continued by Darius, the first of that name; but he also desisted from it upon his being told, that as the Red-Sea lay higher than Egypt, it would drown the whole country. But it was at last finished under the Ptolemies, who, by the help of sluices opened or shut the canal as there was occasion. It began not far from the Delta, near the town of Bubaste. It was an hundred cubits, that is, twenty five fathoms broad, so that two vessels might pass with ease; it had depth enough to carry the largest ships; and was above a thousand stadia, that is, above fifty leagues long. This canal was of great service to the trade of Egypt. But it is now almost filled up, and there are scarce any remains of it to be seen.

CH A·P. III.

LOW ER EGYPT.

I AM now to speak of Lower Egypt. Its shape, which resembles a triangle or Δ , gave occasion to its bearing the latter name, which is that of one of the Greek letters. Lower Egypt forms a kind of island; it begins at the place where the Nile is divided into two large canals, through which it empties itself into the Mediterranean: The mouth on the right-hand is called the Pelusian, and the other the Canopic, from two cities in their neighbourhood, Pelusium and Canopus, now called Damietta and Rosetta. Between these two large branches, there are five others of less note. This island is the best cultivated, the most fruitful, and the richest in Egypt. Its chief cities (very anciently) were Heliopolis, Heracleopolis, Naucratis, Sais, Tanis, Canopus, Pelusium; and in latter times, Alexandria, Nicopolis, &c. it was in the country of *Tanis* that the Israelites dwelt.

Plutar. in
Ibid.
P. 354.

THERE was at Sais, a temple dedicated to Minerva, who is supposed to be the same as *Isis*, with the following inscription: *I am whatever hath been, and is, and shall be; and no mortal hath yet pierced thro' the veil that shrouds me.*

Strab.
l. 17.
p. 805.
Herod.
l. 2. c. 73.
Plin. l. 10.
c. 2.
Tacit.
Ann. l. 6.
c. 28.

HELIOPOLIS, that is, the city of the sun, was so called from a magnificent temple there dedicated to that planet. Herodotus and other authors after him, relate some particulars concerning the Phoenix and this temple, which, if true, would indeed be very wonderful. Of this kind of birds, if we may believe the ancients, there is never but one at a time in the world. He is brought forth in Arabia, lives five or six hundred years, and is of the size of an Eagle. His head is adorned with a shining and most beautiful crest; the feathers of his neck are of a gold co-

lour, and the rest of a purple; his tail is white, intermixt with red, and his eyes sparkling like stars. When he is old, and finds his end approaching, he builds a nest with wood and aromattick spices, and then dies. Of his bones and marrow, a worm is produced, out of which another Phoenix is formed. His first care is to solemnize his parent's obsequies, for which purpose he makes up a ball in the shape of an egg, with abundance of perfumes of myrrh as heavy as he can carry; which he often assays beforehand; then he makes a hole in it, where he deposits his parent's body, and closes it carefully with myrrh and other perfumes. After this he takes up the precious load on his shoulders, and flying to the altar of the sun, in the city of Heliopolis, he there burns it.

HERODOTUS and Tacitus dispute the truth of some of the circumstances of the incident in question, but seem to suppose it true in general. Pliny on the contrary, in the very beginning of his account of it, insinuates plainly enough, that he looks upon the whole as fabulous; and this is the opinion of all modern authors.

THIS ancient tradition, tho' grounded on an evident falshood; hath yet introduced into almost all languages, the custom of giving the name of Phoenix to whatever is singular and uncommon in its kind: *Rara avis in terris*, says Juvenal, speaking of the difficulty of finding an accomplished woman in all respects. Sat. 6. And Seneca observes the same of a good man.

WHAT is reported of the swans, viz. that they never sing but in their expiring moments, and that then they warble very melodiously, is likewise grounded merely on a vulgar error; and yet it is used, not only by the poets, but also by the orators, and even the

bonus tam cito nec fieri Phoenix, semel anno quingen-
potest intelligi — tanquam tesimo nascitur, Ep. 42.

philosophers:

Od. 3. l. 4. philosophers. *O mutis quoque piscibus donatura cygni, si libeat, sonum,* says Horace to Melpomene. Cicero compares the excellent discourse which Crassus made in the senate, a few days before his death, to the melodious singing of a dying swan. *Illa tanquam cynea fuit divini hominis vox & oratio,* de orat. l. 3. n. 6. And Socrates used to say, that good men ought to imitate swans, who perceiving by a secret instinct, and a divination, what advantage there is in death, die singing and with joy. *Providentes quid in morte boni sit, cum cantu & voluptate moriuntur.* Tusc. Qu. l. 1. n. 73. I thought this short digression might be of service to youth; and return now to my subject.

Strab. l. 17. p. 805. IT was in Heliopolis, that an ox, under the name of Mnevis, was worshipped as a God. Cambyses, King of Persia, exercised his sacrilegious rage on this city; burning the temples, demolishing the palaces, and destroying the most precious monuments of antiquity in it. There are still to be seen some obelisks which escaped his fury; and others were brought from thence to Rome, to which city they are an ornament even at this day.

Strab. l. 16. p. 781. ALEXANDRIA, built by Alexander the Great, from whom it had its name, vied almost in magnificence with the ancient cities of Egypt. It stands four days journey from Cairo, and was formerly the chief mart of all the eastern trade. The merchandise were unloaded at Portus Muris*, a town on the western coast of the Red-Sea; from whence they were brought upon camels to a town of Thebais, called Copht, and conveyed down the Nile to Alexandria, whither merchants resorted from all parts.

IT is well known, that the East-India trade hath at all times enriched those who carried it on. This was the chief fountain of the vast treasures that Solomon amassed, and which enabled him to build the magnificent temple of Jerusalem. David, by his

2 Sam. 8.
14.

* Or Myos Hormos.

conquering Idumæa, became master of Elath and Esiongeber, two towns situated on the eastern shore of the Red-Sea. From these two ports, Solomon sent fleets ^{1 Kings 9.} to Ophir and Tarshish, which always brought back ^{26.} immense riches *. This traffick after having been enjoyed some time by the Syrians, who regained Idumæa, shifted from them to the Tyrians. These got all ^{Strab. l. 16} their merchandize conveyed, by the way of Rhinoco- ^{p. 481.} lura, (a sea-port town lying between the confines of Egypt and Palestine) to Tyre, from whence they distributed them all over the western world. Hereby the Tyrians enriched themselves exceedingly, under the Persian Empire; by the favour and protection of whose Monarchs they had the full possession of this trade. But when the Ptolemies had made themselves masters of Egypt, they soon drew all this trade into their kingdom, by building Berenice and other ports on the western side of the Red-Sea, belonging to Egypt; and fixed their chief mart at Alexandria, which thereby rose to be the city of the greatest trade in the world. There it continued for a great many centuries after; and all the traffick, which the western parts of the world from that time had with Persia, India, Arabia, and the eastern coasts of Africa, was wholly carried on through the Red-Sea, and the mouth of the Nile, till a way was discovered, a little above two hundred years since, of sailing to those parts, by the Cape of Good Hope. After this, the Portuguese for some time managed this trade; but now it is in a manner ingrossed wholly by the English and Dutch. This short account of the East-India trade, ^{Part 1.} from Solomon's time, to the present age, is extracted ^{L. 1. p. 9.} from Dr. Prideaux.

For the conveniency of trade, there was built near ^{Strab.} Alexandria, in an island called Pharos, a tower which ^{l. 17.}

* He got in one voyage 450 2 hundred and 40 thousand Pounds ^{Plin. l. 36.}
 Talents of Gold, 2 Chron. viii. Sterling, Prid. Connect. Vol. 1. ^{c. 12.}
 18. which amounts to 3 Millions, ad an. 740. not.

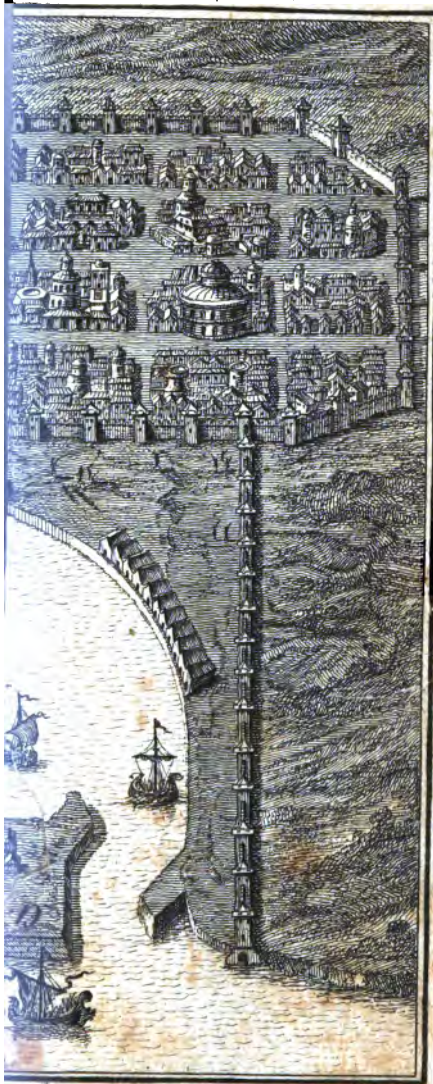
bore the same name. At the top of this tower kept a fire, to light such ships as sailed by night those dangerous coasts, which were full of sands shelves; from whence all other towers, designed the same use, have been called, as Pharo di Mell &c. The famous architect Sostratus built it, by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who expended eight hundred talents upon it*. 'Twas reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world. Some have commended that Prince, for permitting the architect to put his name in the inscription which was fixed on the tower instead of his own †. It was very short and plain, according to the manner of the ancient *Sostratus Cnidius Dexiphanis F. diis servatoribus navigantibus. i. e. Sostratus the Cnidian, son of Dexiphanes, to the protecting Deities, for the safety of sea-faring people.* But certainly Ptolemy may have very much undervalued that kind of immortality which Princes are generally very fond of, to such that his name should not be so much as mentioned in the inscription of an edifice so capable of immortalizing him. What we read in Lucian concerning this matter, deprives Ptolemy of a modesty, which deed would be very ill placed here. This author informs us that Sostratus, in order that the whole glory of that noble structure might be ascribed to himself, caused the inscription with his own name to be carved in the marble, which he afterwards covered with lime, and thereon put the King's name. The lime soon mouldered away; and by that means, instead of procuring the architect the honour with which he had flattered himself; served only to discover in future ages his mean fraud, and ridiculous vanity.

RICHES failed not to bring into this city, as they usually do in all places, luxury and licentiousness; so that the Alexandrian voluptuousness became a p

* Eight hundred thousand Crowns.

† Magno animo Ptolemæi re-

gis, quod in ea permiserit & utrius Cnidii architecti structuræ nomen inscribi. *Plin.*



W. H. Jones sculp

Pharos

is E. The narrow way that
by J. & P. Knapton

Plut. in
Cæf.
p. 731.
Seneca de
tranquill.
anim. c. 9.

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Hist
p. 706.

verb*. In this city arts and sciences were also industriously cultivated; witness that stately edifice, sur-named the Musæum, where the literati used to meet, and were maintained at the publick expence; and the famous library, which was augmented considerably by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and which, by the magnificence of the Kings his successors, at last contained seven hundred thousand volumes. In Cæsar's wars with the Alexandrians, part of this library, (plac'd in the † Bruchion,) which consisted of four hundred thousand volumes, was unhappily consumed by fire.

Plut. in Cæf. p. 731. Seneca de tranquill. anim. c. 9.

* Ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis, Quintil.

† A quarter or division of the city of Alexandria.



PART the SECOND.

OF THE
MANNERS and CUSTOMS
OF THE
EGYPTIANS.



EGYPT was ever considered by all the ancients, as the most renowned school for wisdom and politicks, and the source from whence most arts and sciences were derived. This kingdom bestowed its noblest labours and finest arts on the improving mankind; and Greece was so sensible of this, that its most illustrious men, as Homer, Pythagoras, Plato; even its great legislators, Lycurgus and Solon; with many more whom it is needless to mention, travelled into Egypt, there to complete their studies, and draw from that fountain whatever was most rare and valuable in every kind of learning. God himself has given this kingdom a glorious testimony; when

Acts 7. 22.

praising Moses, he says of him, that *he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.*

To give some idea of the manners and customs of Egypt, I shall confine myself principally to these particulars: Its Kings and government; priests and religion; soldiers and war; sciences, arts and trades.

THE reader must not be surprized, if he sometimes finds, in the customs I take notice of, a kind of contradiction. This is owing, either

the difference of countries and nations which did not always follow the same usages; or, to the different way of thinking of the historians whom I copy.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the *KINGS* and *GOVERNMENT*.

THE Egyptians were the first people who rightly understood the rules of government. From a gravity and seriousness natural to them, they immediately perceived, that the true end of politics is, to make life easy, and a people happy.

THE kingdom was hereditary; but according to Diodorus, the Egyptian Princes conducted themselves in a different manner from what is usually seen in other Monarchies, where the Prince acknowledges no other rule of his actions, but his arbitrary will and pleasure. But here, Kings were under greater restraint from the laws, than their subjects. They had some particular ones digested by a former Monarch that composed part of those books, which the Egyptians called sacred. Thus every thing being settled by ancient custom, they never sought to live in a different way from their ancestors. Diod. l. 1. p. 63, &c.

No slave or foreigner was admitted into the immediate service of the Prince; such a post was too important to be intrusted to any persons, except those who were the most distinguished by their birth, and had received the most excellent education; to the end, that as they had the liberty of approaching the King's person, day and night, he might, from men so qualified, hear nothing which was unbecoming his Royal Majesty; or have any sentiments instilled into him, but such as were of a noble and generous kind. For, adds Diodorus, it is very rarely seen, that Kings fly out

out into any vicious excess, unless those who approach them approve their irregularities, or serve as instruments to their passions.

THE Kings of Egypt freely permitted, not only the quality and proportion of their eatables and liquors to be prescribed them (a thing customary in Egypt, the inhabitants of which were all sober, and whose air inspired frugality) but even that all their hours, and almost every action, should be under the regulation of the laws.

In the morning at day-break, when the head is clearest, and the thoughts most unperplexed, they read the several letters they received; to form a more just and distinct idea of the affairs which were to come under their consideration that day.

As soon as they were dressed, they went to the daily sacrifice performed in the temple; where, surrounded with their whole Court, and the victims placed before the altar, they assisted at the prayer pronounced aloud by the High-Priest, in which he asked of the Gods, health and all other blessings for the King, because he governed his people with clemency and justice; and made the laws of his kingdom the rule and standard of his actions. The High-Priest entred into a long detail of his virtues; observing that he was religious to the Gods, affable to men, moderate, just, magnanimous, sincere; an enemy to falshood; liberal, master of his passions; punishing crimes with the utmost lenity, but prescribing no bounds in his recompensing of merit. He next spoke of the faults which Kings might be guilty of; but supposed at the same time, that they never committed any, except by surprize or ignorance; and loaded with imprecations such of their ministers as gave them ill counsel, and suppressed or disguised the truth. Such were the methods of conveying instructions to their Kings. It was thought that reproaches would only sour their tempers; and that the most effectual method to inspire them with virtue, would be

be the pointing out to them their duty in praises bestowed conformably to the sense of the laws, and pronounced in a solemn manner before the gods. After the prayers and sacrifice were ended, the counsels and actions of great men were read to the king out of the sacred books, in order that their maxims might prompt him to govern his kingdom agreeably thereto, and to maintain the laws which had made his predecessors and their subjects so happy.

I HAVE already observed, that the quantity as well as quality of both eatables and liquids were prescribed, by the laws, to the king: His table was covered with nothing but the most common meats; because eating in Egypt was designed, not to tickle the palate, but to satisfy the cravings of nature. One would have concluded (observes the historian) that these rules had been laid down by some able physician, who was attentive only to the health of the prince, rather than by a legislator. The same simplicity was seen in all other things; and we read in Plutarch, of a temple in Thebes, which had one of its pillars inscribed with imprecations against that king, who first introduced profusion and luxury into Egypt.

De Isid. &
Ofir.
p. 354.

THE principal duty of kings, and their most essential function, is the administering justice to their subjects. Accordingly, the kings of Egypt cultivated more immediately this duty; persuaded that on this depended not only the ease and comfort of the several individuals, but the happiness of the state; which would be an herd of robbers rather than a kingdom, should the weak be unprotected, and the powerful enabled by their riches and credit, to commit crimes with impunity.

THIRTY judges were selected out of the principal cities, to form a body or assembly able and fit to judge the affairs of the whole kingdom. The prince, in filling these vacancies, used to chuse men who were most renowned for their honesty; and put at their head,

I.

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him who was most distinguished for his knowledge and love of the laws, and was had in the most universal esteem. By his bounty, they had revenues assigned them, to the end that being disincumbered from domestick cares, they might devote their whole time to the execution of the laws. Thus honourably subsisted by the generosity of the prince, they administered justice gratuitously to the people, who have a natural right to it; among whom it ought to have a free circulation, and, in some sense, among the poor more than the rich, because the latter find a support within themselves; whereas the very condition of the former exposes them more to injuries, and for that very reason calls louder for the protection of the laws. To guard against surprize, affairs were transacted by writing in the assemblies of these judges. That species of eloquence (a false kind) was dreaded, which dazzles the mind, and raises the passions. Truth could not be exhibited with too much plainness, as it was to have the only sway in judgments; because in this virtue only the rich and the poor, the powerful and the weak, the learned and the ignorant, were to find relief and security. The president of this senate wore a collar of gold set with precious stones, at which hung a figure represented blind, this being call'd the emblem of truth. When the president put this collar on, 'twas understood as a signal to enter upon business. He touched the party with it, who was to gain his cause, and this was the form of pronouncing sentence.

THE most excellent circumstance in the laws of the Egyptians, was, that every individual from his infancy, was admonished to adhere strictly to them. A new custom in Egypt was a kind of miracle. All things there ran in the old channel; and the exactness with which little matters were adhered to, preserved those of more importance; and indeed no nation ever preserved their laws and customs longer than the Egyptians.

Plat. in
Tim.
p. 656.

WISFUL

WILFUL murder was punished with death, whatever might be the condition of the murdered person, whether he was free-born or otherwise. In this the humanity and equity of the Egyptians was superior to that of the Romans, who put the slave (as to life or death) in the absolute power of his master. The emperor Adrian indeed abolished this law; from an opinion, that an abuse of this nature ought to be reformed, let its antiquity or authority be ever so great. Diod. l. 1. p. 70.

PERSONS who forswore themselves were likewise punished with death, because perjury attacks the gods, whose majesty is trampled upon by the invoking of their name to a false oath; and at the same time men, in breaking the strongest tie of human society, viz. sincerity and honesty. Page 69.

THE slanderer was condemned to undergo the punishment, which the person accused was to have suffered, had the accusation been proved. Idem.

HE who had neglected or refused to save a person when attacked, if it was in his power to assist him, was punished with the rigour due to an assassin: But if the unfortunate person could not be succoured, the offender was at least to be impeached, and penalties were decreed for any neglect of this kind. Thus the subjects were a guard and protection to one another; and the whole body of the community was united against the designs of evil men. Idem.

No man was allowed to be a burthen to the state; but every man was obliged to enter his name and place of abode in a publick register, that remained in the hands of the magistrate, by which his profession was known, and in what manner he lived. If such a one gave a false account of himself, he was immediately put to death. Idem.

To prevent borrowing of money, the parent of Herod. sloth, frauds, and chicane, king Atychis made a very judicious law. The wisest and best regulated states, as Athens and Rome, ever found insuperable difficulties. Herod. l. 2. c. 136.

culties, in contriving a just medium, to restrain on one hand, the cruelty of the creditor in the exaction of his loan; and on the other, the knavery of the debtor, who refused or neglected to pay his debts. Now Egypt took a wise course on this occasion; and without doing any injury to the personal liberty of its inhabitants, or ruining their families; pursued the debtor with incessant fears of infamy from his dishonesty. No man was permitted to borrow money without pawning to the creditor the body of his father, which every Egyptian embalmed with great care; and kept reverentially in his house (as will be observed in the sequel) and therefore might be easily moved from one place to another. But it was equally impious and infamous not to redeem soon so precious a pledge; and he who died without having discharged this duty, was deprived of the customary honours paid to the dead*.

Diod. l. 1. DIODORUS remarks an error committed by some of the Grecian legislators. They forbade, for instance, the taking away (to satisfy debts) the horses, ploughs, and other implements of husbandry employed by peasants; they judging it inhuman to reduce, by this security, these poor men to an impossibility of discharging their debts, and gaining a livelihood: But at the same time permitted the creditor to imprison the peasants themselves; who only were capable of using these implements; which expos'd them to the same inconveniencies, and at the same time deprived the government of persons who belonged to, and are necessary to it; who labour for

* This law put the whole sepulchre of the debtor into the power of the creditor, who removed to his own house the body of the father: The debtor refusing to discharge his obligation, was to be deprived of burial, either in his

father's sepulchre or any other; and whilst he lived, he was not permitted to bury any person descended from him. Μὰ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐπίνοιον τελευτήσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κερῆσαι—μητ' ἄλλον μηδὲνα ἢ ἑαυτῷ ἀπογνώμην. Διόδοτος. Herod.

the publick emolument, and over whose person no single man has any right.

POLYGAMY was allowed in Egypt, excepting Idem. P. 72. to priests, who could marry but one woman. Whatever was the condition of the woman, whether she was free or a slave, her children were deemed free and legitimate.

ONE custom that was practis'd in Egypt, shewed Idem. P. 22. the profound darkness into which such nations as were most celebrated for their wisdom have been plunged; and this was the marriage of brothers with their sisters, which was not only authoris'd by the laws, but even, in some measure made a part of religion; from the example and practice of such of their gods, as had been the most anciently and universally ador'd in Egypt, that is, Osiris and Isis.

A VERY great respect was there paid to old age. Herod. l. 2. c. 20. The younger were obliged to rise before those in advanced years; and on every occasion, to resign to them the most honourable seat. The Spartans borrowed this law from the Egyptians.

THE virtue which held the first rank among the Egyptians, was gratitude. The glory which has been given them of being the most grateful of all men, shews that they were best formed of any nation, for the social life. Benefits are the band of concord, both publick and private. He who acknowledges favours, loves to do good to others; and in banishing ingratitude, the pleasure of doing good remains so pure and engaging, that 'tis impossible for a man to be insensible of it; But no kind of gratitude gave the Egyptians a more pleasing satisfaction, than that which was paid to their kings. Princes, whilst living, were by them honoured as so many visible representations of the Deity; and after their death were mourned as the fathers of their country. This sentiment of respect and tenderness proceeded from a strong persuasion, that the Deity itself had placed them upon the throne, since it distinguished them

ground, intimated the duties of those who were to exercise the judiciary functions.

IT would require a volume to treat fully of the religion of the Egyptians. But I shall confine myself to two articles, which form the principal part of the Egyptian religion; and these are, the worship of the different deities, and the ceremonies relating to funerals.

SECT. I. *Of the worship of the various deities.*

NEVER were any people more superstitious than the Egyptians; they had a great number of gods, of different orders and degrees, which I shall omit, because they belong more to fable than to history. Among the rest, two were universally adored in that country, and these were Osiris and Isis, which are thought to be the sun and moon; and indeed the worship of those planets gave rise to idolatry.

BESIDES these gods, the Egyptians worshipped a great number of beasts; as the ox, the dog, the wolf, the hawk, the crocodile, the * ibis, the cat, &c. many of these beasts were the objects only of the superstition of some particular cities; and whilst a people worshipped one species of animals as gods, their neighbours had the same animal gods in abomination. This was the source of the continual wars which were carried on between one city and another; and this was owing to the false policy of one of their kings, who, to deprive them of the opportunity and means of conspiring against the state, endeavoured to amuse them, by engaging them in religious contests. I call this a false and mistaken policy, because it directly thwarts the true spirit of government, whose aim is, to unite all its members in the strict-

* Or Egyptian stork.

est ties, and which makes all its strength to consist in the perfect harmony of its several parts.

EVERY nation had a great zeal for their gods. *Among us, says Cicero, it is very common to see temples robbed, and statues carried off; but it was never known, that any person in Egypt ever abused a crocodile, an ibis, a cat, for its inhabitants would have suffered the most extreme torments, rather than be guilty of such sacrilege.* It was death for any person to kill one of these animals voluntarily; and even a punishment was decreed against him, who should have killed an ibis or a cat, with or without design. Diodorus relates an incident, to which he himself was an eye-witness, during his stay in Egypt. A Roman having inadvertently, and without design, killed a cat; the exasperated populace ran to his house; and neither the authority of the king, who immediately detached a body of his guards; nor the terror of the Roman name, could rescue the unfortunate criminal. And such was the reverence which the Egyptians had for these animals, that in an extreme famine they chose to eat one another; rather than feed upon their pretended deities.

OF all these animals, the bull Apis, called Epa-
 phus by the Greeks, was the most famous. Magnificent temples were erected to him; extraordinary honours were paid him while he lived, and still greater after his death. Egypt went then into a general mourning. His obsequies were solemnized with such a pomp as is hardly credible. In the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, the bull Apis, dying of old age*, the funeral pomp, besides the ordinary expences, amounted to upwards of fifty thousand French crowns. After the last honours had been paid to the

L. 1. de
 Nat. Deor.
 l. 82.
 L. 5. Tusc.
 Quæst.
 n. 78.

Herod
 l. 2. c. 65.

Diod. l. 1.
 P. 74, 75.

Herod. l. 3.
 c. 27, &c.
 p. 76.
 Diod. l. 1.
 Plin. l. 8.
 c. 26.

* Pliny affirms, that he was not allowed to exceed a certain term of years; and was drowned in the process well. Non est fas

cum certos vitæ excedere annos, mersumque in sacerdotum fonte euecant. Nat. Hist. l. 8. c. 46.

deceased

deceased god, the next care was to provide him a successor, and all Egypt was sought through for that purpose. He was known by certain signs, which distinguished him from all other animals of that species; upon his forehead, was to be a white spot, in form of a crescent; on his back, the figure of an eagle; upon his tongue, that of a beetle. As soon as he was found, mourning gave place to joy; and nothing was heard, in all parts of Egypt, but festivals and rejoicings. The new god was brought to Memphis, to take possession of his dignity, and there installed with great number of ceremonies. The reader will find hereafter, that Cambyfes, at his return from his unfortunate expedition against Ethiopia, finding all the Egyptians in transports of joy for their new god Apis, and imagining that this was intended as an insult upon his misfortunes; killed, in the first starts of his fury, the young bull, who by that means had but a short enjoyment of his divinity.

'Tis plain, that the golden calf set up near mount Sinai by the Israelites, was owing to their abode in Egypt, and an imitation of the god Apis; as well as those which were afterwards set up by Jeroboam, (who had resided a considerable time in Egypt) in the two extremities of the kingdom of Israel.

THE Egyptians, not contented with offering incense to animals, carried their folly to such an excess, as to ascribe a divinity to the pulse and roots of their gardens. For this they are ingeniously reproached by the satyrist.

Juven.
Satyr. 15. * *Who has not heard where Egypt's realms are nam'd,
What monster gods, her frantick sons have fram'd?
Here Ibis gorg'd with well-grown serpents, there
The crocodile commands religious fear. Where*

* *Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc: illa pavet saturam serpentibus ibem.
Effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci,*

Dimidio

*Where Memnon's statue magick strings inspire
 With vocal sounds, that emulate the lyre ;
 And Thebes, such, fate, are thy disastrous turns !
 Now prostrate o'er her pompous ruins mourns ;
 A monkey-god, prodigious to be told !
 Strikes the beholder's eye with burnished gold :
 To godship here, blue Triton's scaly herd,
 The river progeny is there prefer'd :
 Through towns Diana's power neglected lies,
 Where to her dogs aspiring temples rise :
 And shou'd you leeks or onions eat, no time
 Wou'd expiate the sacrilegious crime.
 Religious nations sure, and blest abodes,
 Where ev'ry orchard is o'er-run with gods !*

'Tis astonishing to see a nation, which boasted its superiority ^{about} all others with regard to wisdom and learning, thus blindly abandon itself to the most gross and ridiculous superstitions. Indeed, to read of animals and vile insects, honoured with religious worship, placed in temples, and maintained with great care and at an extravagant expence *; to read, that those who murdered them were punished with death; and that these animals were embalmed, and solemnly deposited in tombs, assigned them by the publick; to hear, that this extravagance was carried to such lengths, as that leeks and onions were acknowledged as deities; were invoked in necessity, and depended upon for succour and protection; are excesses which we, at this distance of time, can scarce

Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ,
 Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.
 Illic cæruleos, hic piscem fluminis, illic
 Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
 Porrum & cœpe nefas violare, ac frangere morsu.
 O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
 Numina !

* Diodorus affirms, that in ^{no less than one hundred thousand} his time, the expence amounted to crowns. Lib. 1. p. 76.~
 believe ;

Imag.

believe; and yet they have the attestation of all antiquity. You enter, says Lucian, into a magnificent temple, every part of which glitters with gold and silver. You there look attentively for a god, and are cheated with a stork, an ape, or a cat; a just emblem, adds that author, of too many palaces, the masters of which are far from being the brightest ornaments of them..

Diod. l. 1.
p. 77, &c.

SEVERAL reasons are given of the worship paid to animals, by the Egyptians.

THE first is drawn from the fabulous history. It is pretended that the gods, in a rebellion made against them by men, fled into Egypt, and there conceal'd themselves, under the form of different animals; and that this gave birth to the worship, which was afterwards paid to those animals.

THE second is taken from the benefit * which these several animals procure to mankind: Oxen by their labour; sheep by their wool and milk; dogs by their service in hunting and guarding houses, whence the god Anubis was represented with a dog's head: The ibis, a bird very much resembling a stork, was worshipp'd, because he put to flight the wing'd serpents, with which Egypt would otherwise have been grievously infested; the crocodile, an amphibious creature, that is, living alike upon land and water, of a surprizing strength and size †, was worshipp'd, because he defended Egypt from the incursions of the wild Arabs; the Ichneumon was ador'd, because he prevented the too great increase of crocodiles, which might have prov'd destructive to Egypt: Now the little animal in question does this service to the country two ways. First, it watches the time when the crocodile is absent, and breaks his eggs, but does not eat them. Secondly, when he sleeps upon the banks

* Ipsi, qui irridentur Ægyptii, nullam belluam nisi ob aliquam utilitatem quam ex ea caperent consecraverunt. Cic. l. 1.

de Natura Deor. n. 101.

† Which, according to Herodotus, is no more than 17 cubits in length, l. 2. c. 68.

of the Nile, (which he always does with his mouth open) this small animal, which lay conceal'd in the mud, leaps at once into his mouth; gets down to his entrails, which he gnaws; then piercing his belly, the skin of which is very tender, he escapes with safety; and thus, by his address and subtilty, returns victorious over so terrible an animal.

PHILOSOPHERS, not satisfied with reasons, which were too trifling to account for such strange absurdities as dishonoured the heathen system, and at which themselves secretly blush'd; have, since the establishment of christianity, suppos'd a third reason for worship which the Egyptians paid to animals; and declared, that it was not offered to the animals themselves, but to the gods of whom they were symbols. Plutarch, in his treatise, where he examines professedly the pretensions of Isis and Osiris, the two most famous deities of the Egyptians, says as follows.

“ Philosophers honour the image of God wherever P. 382.

“ they find it; even in inanimate beings, and con-
 “ sequently more in those which have life. We
 “ are therefore to approve, not the worshippers of
 “ these animals, but those who, by their means,
 “ ascend to the deity; they are to be consider'd as
 “ so many mirrors, which nature holds forth, and
 “ in which the supreme being displays himself in a
 “ wonderful manner; or, as so many instruments,
 “ which he makes use of to manifest outwardly, his
 “ incomprehensible wisdom. Should men therefore,
 “ for the embellishing of statues, amass together all
 “ the gold and precious stones in the world; the wor-
 “ ship must not be referr'd to the statues, for the
 “ deity does not exist in colours artfully dispos'd,
 “ nor in frail matter destitute of sense and motion.”

Plutarch says in the same treatise, “ That as the sun P. 377, &

“ and moon, heaven, earth, and the sea are com- 378.

“ mon to all men, but have different names accord-
 “ ing to the difference of nations and languages;
 “ in like manner, tho' there is but one Deity, and
 “ one

“ one Providence which governs the universe, and
 “ which has several subaltern ministers under it;
 “ men give to this deity, which is the same, diffe-
 “ rent names; and pay it different honours, accord-
 “ to the laws and customs of every country.”

BUT were these reflections which offer the most rational vindication that can be made, of idolatrous worship, sufficient to cover the ridicule of it? Could it be call'd a raising of the divine attributes in a suitable manner, to direct the worshipper to admire and seek for the image of them, in beasts of the most vile and contemptible kinds, as crocodiles, serpents, and cats? Was not this rather degrading and debasing the Deity, of whom, even the most stupid, usually entertain a much greater and more august idea?

HOWEVER, these philosophers were not always so just, as to ascend from sensible beings to their invisible author. The scriptures tell us, that these pretended *Sages* deserv'd, on account of their pride and ingratitude, to be given over to a reprobate mind; and whilst they profess'd themselves wise, to become fools, for having changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.

To shew what man is when left to himself, God permitted ~~that~~ every nation, which had carried human wisdom to its greatest height, to be the theatre on which the most ridiculous and absurd idolatry was acted. And, on the other side, to display the Almighty power of his grace, he converted the frightful desarts of Egypt into a terrestrial paradise; by peopling them, in the time appointed by his providence, with numberless multitudes of illustrious hermits, whose fervent piety, and rigorous penance, have done so much honour to the christian religion. I cannot forbear giving here a famous instance of it; and I hope the reader will excuse this kind of digression.

Rom. i.
22, 25.

THE great wonder of Lower Egypt, says Abbé Tom. 5. Fleury in his Ecclesiastical History, was the city of P. 25, 26. Oxyrinchus, peopled with monks, both within and without, so that they were more numerous than its other inhabitants. The publick edifices, and idol temples had been converted into monasteries, and these likewise were more in number than the private houses. The monks lodg'd even over the gates, and in the towers. The people had twelve churches to assemble in, exclusive of the oratories belonging to the monasteries. X There were twenty thousand virgins and ten thousand monks in this city, every part of which echoed night and day with the praises of God. X By order of the magistrates, centinels were posted at the gates, to take notice of all strangers and poor who came into the city; and those who first received them, were obliged to provide them with all hospital accommodations.

SECT. II. *The ceremonies of the Egyptian*
FUNERALS.

I SHALL now give a concise account of the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians. *

THE honours which have been paid in all ages and nations to dead bodies; and the religious care taken to provide sepulchres for them, seem to insinuate an universal persuasion, that bodies were lodg'd in sepulchres merely as a deposit or trust.

WE have already observ'd, in our mention of the pyramids, with what magnificence sepulchres were built in Egypt; for besides, that they were erected as so many sacred monuments, destin'd to transmit to future times the memory of great princes; they were likewise consider'd as the mansions where the body was to remain during a long succession of ages: whereas common houses were called inns, in which Diod. l. 1. men were to abide only as travellers, and that during p. 47. the

the course of a life which was too short to engage their affections.

WHEN any person in a family died, all the kindred and friends quitted their usual habits, and put on mourning; and abstain'd from baths, wine, and dainties of every kind. This mourning held forty or seventy days; probably according to the quality of the person.

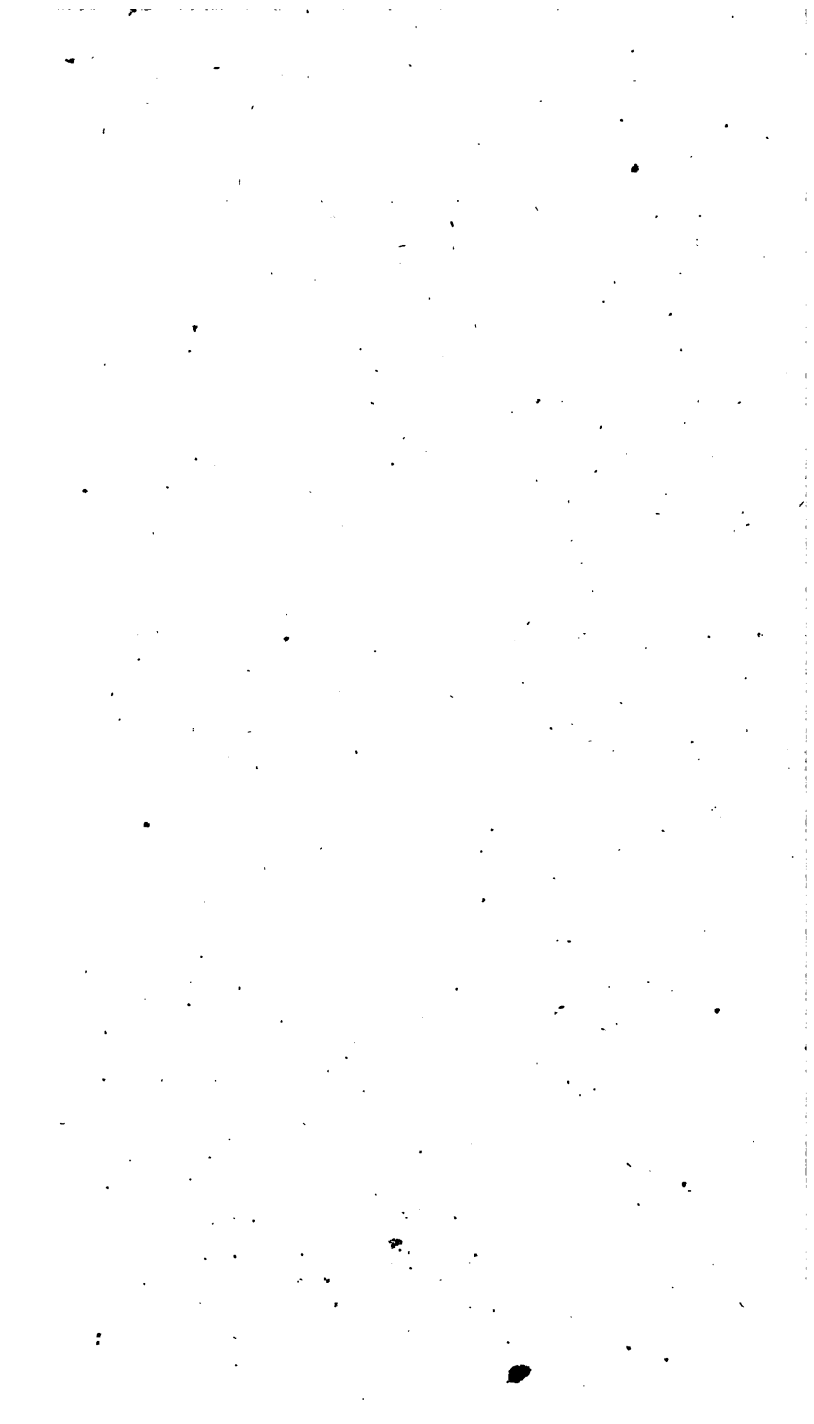
Herod.

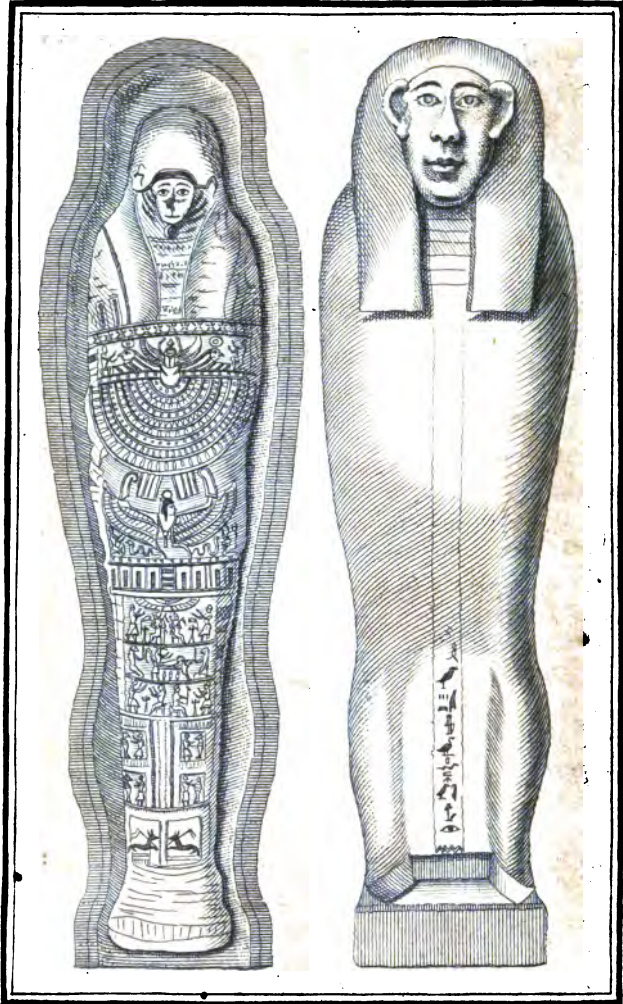
J. 2. c 85,
&c.

BODIES were embalmed three ways. The most magnificent was bestowed on persons of distinguish'd rank, and the expence amounted to a talent of silver, or three thousand French livres.

Diod. l. 1.
p. 81.

MANY hands were employed in this ceremony. Some drew the brain through the nostrils, by an instrument made for that purpose. Others emptied the bowels and intestines, by cutting a hole in the side, with an Ethiopian stone that was as sharp as a razor: after which the cavities were fill'd with perfumes and various odoriferous drugs. As this evacuation (which was necessarily attended with some dissections) seem'd in some measure cruel and inhuman; the persons employed fled as-foon as the operation was over, and were pursued with stones by the standers-by. But those who embalmed the body were honourably treated. They filled it with myrrh, cinnamon, and all sorts of spices. After a certain time, the body was swathed in lawn fillets, which were glued together with a kind of very thin gum, and then crusted them over with the most exquisite perfumes. By this means, 'tis said that the entire figure of the body, the very lineaments of the face, and the hairs on the lids and eye-brows were preserv'd in their natural perfection. The body thus embalm'd, was delivered to the relations, who shut it up in a kind of open chest, fitted exactly to the size of the corps; then they plac'd it upright against the wall, either in sepulchres, (if they had any) or in their houses. These embalm'd bodies are now what we call Mummies, which are still brought from
Egypt,





*An Egyptian Mummy
in the Collection of Dr. Mead.
Published Feb. 1754 by J. & P. Knapton*

Egypt, and are found in the cabinets of the curious. This shews the care which the Egyptians took of their dead. Their gratitude to their deceas'd relations was immortal. Children, by seeing the bodies of their ancestors thus preserv'd, recall'd to mind those virtues for which the publick had honoured them; and were excited to a love of those laws which such excellent persons had left for their security. We find that part of these ceremonies were performed in the funeral honours done to Joseph in Egypt.

I HAVE said that the publick recogniz'd the virtues of deceased persons, because that, before they could be admitted into the sacred asylum of the tomb, they underwent a solemn trial. And this circumstance in the Egyptian funerals, is one of the most remarkable that is found in ancient history.

It was a consolation among the heathens, to a dying man, to leave a good name behind him; and they imagined that this is the only human blessing which death cannot ravish from us. But the Egyptians would not suffer praises to be bestowed indiscriminately on all deceased persons. This honour was to be obtained only from the publick voice. The assembly of the Judges met on the other side of a lake which they cross'd in a boat. He who sat at the helm was called *Charon*, in the Egyptian language; and this first gave the hint to Orpheus, who had been in Egypt, and after him, to the other Greeks, to invent the fiction of Charon's boat. As soon as a man was dead, he was brought to his trial. The publick accuser was heard. If he prov'd that the deceas'd had led a bad life, his memory was condemn'd, and he was depriv'd of burial. The people were affected with laws, which extended even beyond the grave; and every one struck with the disgrace inflicted on the dead person, was afraid to reflect dishonour on his own memory, and that of his family. But if the
deceased

deceased person was not convicted of any crime, he was interr'd in an honourable manner.

A STILL more astonishing circumstance, in this publick inquest upon the dead, was, that the throne it self was no protection from it. Kings were spar'd during their lives, because the publick peace was concern'd in this forbearance: but their quality did not exempt them from the judgment pass'd upon the dead, and even some of them were depriv'd of Sepulture. This custom was imitated by the Israelites. We see, in scripture, that bad Kings were not interr'd in the monuments of their ancestors. This practice suggested to Princes, that if their majesty placed them out of the reach of mens judgment, whilst they were alive, they would at last be obnoxious to it, when death should reduce them to a level with their subjects.

WHEN therefore a favourable judgment was pronounced on a decess'd person, the next thing was to proceed to the ceremonies of interment. In his panegyrick, no mention was made of his birth, because every Egyptian was deem'd noble. No praises were consider'd as just or true, but such as related to the personal merit of the decess'd. He was applauded for having received an excellent education in his younger years; and in his more advanced age, for having cultivated piety towards the Gods, justice towards men, gentleness, modesty, moderation, and all other virtues which constitute the good man. Then all the people shouted, and bestowed the highest elogiums on the deceased, as one who would be received, for ever, into the society of the virtuous in Pluto's kingdom.

To conclude this article of the ceremonies of funerals, it may not be amiss to observe to young pupils, the different manners with which dead bodies were treated by the ancients. Some, as we observed of the Egyptians, expos'd them to view after they had been embalm'd, and then preserved them to after-ages.

ages. Others, as particularly the Romans, burnt them on a funeral pile: and others again, laid them in the earth.

THE care to preserve bodies without lodging them in tombs, appears injurious to human nature in general, and to those persons in particular for whom this respect is design'd; because it exposes too visibly their wretched state and deformity; since whatever care may be taken, spectators see nothing but the melancholy and frightful remains of what they once were. The custom of burning dead bodies has something in it cruel and barbarous, in destroying so hastily the remains of persons once dear to us. That of Interment is certainly the most ancient and religious. It restores to the earth what had been taken from it; and prepares our belief of a second restitution of our bodies, from that dust from which they first were taken.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Egyptian SOLDIERS and WAR.

THE profession of arms was in great repute among the Egyptians. After the sacerdotal families, the most illustrious, as with us, were those devoted to a military life. They were not only distinguish'd by honours, but by ample liberalities. Every soldier was allowed an Aroura, that is a piece of arable land very near answering to half a French acre*, exempt from all tax or tribute. Besides this privilege, each soldier received a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of flesh, and a pint of

* Twelve Arouras. An Egyptian Aroura was 10,000 square cubits, equal to 3

wine †. This allowance was sufficient to support part of their family. Such an indulgence made them more affectionate to the person of their prince, and the interests of their country, and more resolute in the defence of both; and, as Diodorus observes, it was thought inconsistent with good policy, and even common sense, to commit the defence of a country, to men who had no interest in its preservation.

Lib. 1.
p. 67.

Herod.
l. 2. c.
164, 168.

FOUR hundred thousand soldiers were kept in continual pay; they being all natives of Egypt, and trained up in the exactest discipline. They were inur'd to the fatigues of war, by a severe and rigorous education. There is an art of forming the body as well as the mind. This art, lost by our sloth, was well known to the ancients, and especially to the Egyptians. Foot, horse and chariot races were performed in Egypt with wonderful agility, and the world could not shew better horse-men than the Egyptians. The scripture in several places speaks advantageously of their cavalry.

Cant. 1. 8.
Isa. 36. 9.

Diod.
p. 70.

MILITARY laws were easily preserv'd in Egypt, because sons receiv'd them from their fathers; the profession of war, as all others, being transmitted from father to son. Those who fled in battle, or discovered any signs of cowardise, were only distinguish'd by some particular mark of ignominy; it being thought more adviseable to restrain them by motives of honour, rather than by the terrors of punishment.

BUT notwithstanding this, I will not pretend to say, that the Egyptians were a warlike people. 'Tis of little benefit to have regular and well-paid troops;

† The Greek is *δύο μέτρα*; which some have made to signify a determinate quantity of wine, or any other liquid; others; regarding the etymology of the word *απομα*, have translated it by *hanstrum* a bucket, as Lu-

cretius, L. 5. 51. others by *hanstrus* a draught or sup. Herodotus says, this allowance was given only to the two thousand guards who attended annually on the King, L. 2. c. 168.

to have armies exercis'd in peace, and employed only in mock fights: it is war alone, and real combats, which form the soldier. Egypt loved peace, because it loved justice, and maintained soldiers only for its security. Its inhabitants, content with a country which abounded in all things, had no ambitious dreams of conquest. The Egyptians extended their reputation in a very different manner, by sending colonies into all parts of the world, and with them laws and politeness. They triumphed by the wisdom of their counsels, and the superiority of their knowledge; and this empire of the mind appear'd more noble and glorious to them, than that which is achieved by arms and conquest. But nevertheless, Egypt has given birth to illustrious conquerors, as will be observed hereafter, when we come to treat of its Kings.

CHAP. IV.

Of their ARTS and SCIENCES.

THE Egyptians had an inventive genius, and they turned it to profitable speculations. Their Mercuries filled Egypt with wonderful inventions, and left it almost ignorant of nothing which could accomplish the mind, or procure ease and happiness. The discoverers of any useful invention receiv'd, both living and dead, rewards equal to their profitable labours. It is this consecrated the books of their two Mercuries, and stamp'd them with a divine authority. The first libraries were in Egypt; and the titles they bore, inspired the reader with an eager desire to enter them, and dive into the secrets they contained. They were called the * *Office for the diseases*

* *ἰατρικὴ ἀρχὴ.*

of the soul, and that very justly, because the soul was there cur'd of ignorance, the most dangerous and the parent of all her maladies.

As their country was level, and the air of it always serene and unclouded, they were some of the first who observed the courses of the planets. These observations led them to regulate the year † from the course of the sun; for as Diodorus observes, their year, from the most remote antiquity, was composed of three hundred sixty five days and six hours. To adjust the property of their lands, which were every year covered by the overflowing of the Nile, they were obliged to have recourse to surveys; and this first taught them geometry. They were great observers of nature, which, in a climate so serene, and under so intense a sun, was vigorous and fruitful.

By this study and application they invented or improved the science of physick. The sick were not abandoned to the arbitrary will and caprice of the physician. He was obliged to follow fixed rules, which were the observations of old and experienced practitioners, and written in the sacred books. While these rules were observed, the physician was not answerable for the success; otherwise a miscarriage cost him his life. This law checked indeed the temerity of empiricks; but then it might prevent new discoveries, and keep the art from attaining to

† It will not seem surprising that the Egyptians, who were the most ancient observers of the celestial motions should have arrived to this knowledge; when it is considered, that the lunar year, made use of by the Greeks and Romans, tho' it appears so inconvenient and irregular, suppos'd nevertheless a knowledge of the solar Year, such as Diodorus Siculus ascribes to the Egyptians. 'Twill appear at first

light, by calculating their intercalations, that those who first divided the year in this manner, were no ignorant, that to three hundred sixty five days, some hours were to be added, to keep pace with the sun. Their only error lay, in the supposition that only six hours were wanting; whereas an addition of almost eleven minutes was requisite.

its just perfection. Every physician, if Herodotus l. 2. c. 84. may be credited, confined his practice to the cure of one disease only; one was for the eyes, another for the teeth, and so on.

WHAT we have said of the pyramids, and the labyrinth; and that infinite number of obelisks, temples and palaces, whose precious remains still strike with admiration, and in which were display'd, the magnificence of the Princes who raised them, the skill of the workmen, the riches of the ornaments diffused over every part of them, and the just proportion and beautiful symmetry of the parts in which their greatest beauty consisted; works, in many of which the liveliness of the colours remain to this day, in spite of the rude hand of time, which either deadens or destroys them: All this, I say, shews the perfection to which architecture, painting, sculpture, and all other arts had arrived in Egypt.

THE Egyptians entertained but a mean opinion ^{Diod. l. 1.} of that sort of exercise, which did not contribute to ^{p. 73.} invigorate the body, or give a vigorous health*; nor of musick, which they considered as a useless and dangerous diversion, and only fit to enervate the mind.

* Την δὲ μουσικὴν νομίζουσιν ἢ βλαβερὰν ὡς ἀν' ἐκδηλοῦσαν τὰς μόνας ἀχρεῖαν ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ψυχῆς.

CHAP. V.

Of HUSBANDMEN, SHEPHERDS and ARTIFICERS.

HUSBANDMEN, shepherds, and artificers, ^{Diod. l. 1.} formed the three stages of lower life in Egypt, ^{p. 67, 68.} but they nevertheless were had in very great esteem, particularly husbandmen and shepherds. The body

politick requires a superiority and subordination of its several members; for as in the natural body, the eye may be said to hold the first rank, yet its lustre does not dart contempt upon the feet, the hands, or even on those parts which are less honourable. In like manner, among the Egyptians, the Priests, Soldiers, and Scholars were distinguished by particular honours; but all professions, to the meanest, had their share in the publick esteem, because the despising any man, whose labours, however mean, were useful to the State, was thought a crime.

A BETTER reason than the foregoing, might have inspired them at the first with these sentiments of equity and moderation, which they so long preserv'd. *or Ham.* As they all descended from * Cham their common father, the memory of their origin occurring fresh to the minds of all in those first ages; established among them a kind of equality, and stamped, in their opinion, a nobility on every person derived from the common stock. Indeed the difference of conditions, and the contempt with which persons of the lowest rank are treated, are owing merely to the distance from the common root; which makes us forget that the meanest plebeian, when his descent is traced back to the source, is equally noble with those of the most elevated rank and titles.

Be that as it will, no profession in Egypt was considered as groveling or sordid. By this means arts were raised to their highest perfection. The honour which cherished them mixed with every thought and care for their improvement. Every man had his way of life assigned him by the laws, and it was perpetuated from father to son. Two professions at one time, or a change of that which a man was born to, were never allowed. By this means, men became more able and expert in employments which they had always exercised from their infancy; and every man adding his own experience to that of his ancestors, was more capable of attaining perfection in his particular

*Whether this is not confining to mind
grows in man*

cular art. Besides, this wholesome institution which had been established anciently throughout Egypt, extinguished all irregular ambition; and taught every man to sit down contented with his condition, without aspiring to one more elevated, from interest, vain-glory or levity.

FROM this source flowed numberless inventions to bring every art to its perfection, and render life more commodious, and trade more easy. I once could not believe that Diodorus was in earnest, in what he relates concerning the Egyptian industry, viz. that this people had found out a way, by an artificial fecundity, to hatch eggs without the sitting of the hen; but all modern travellers declare it to be a fact, which certainly is worthy our curiosity, and is said to be practised in Europe. Their relations inform us, that the Egyptians stow eggs in ovens, which are heated so temperately, and with such just proportion to the natural warmth of the hen, that the chickens produced from these ovens are as strong as those which are hatched the natural way. The season of the year proper for this operation is, from the end of December to the end of April; the heat in Egypt being too violent in the other months. During these four months, upwards of three hundred thousand eggs are laid in these ovens, which tho' they are not all successful, they nevertheless produce vast numbers of fowls at an easy rate. The art lies in giving the ovens a just degree of heat, which must not exceed a fixed proportion. About ten days are bestowed in heating these ovens, and very near as much time in hatching the eggs. It is very entertaining, say these travellers, to observe the hatching of these chickens, some of which shew at first nothing but their heads, others but half their bodies, and others again come quite out of the egg; These last, the moment they are hatched, make their way over the unhatched eggs, and form a diverting spectacle. Corneille le Bruyn, in his travels, has collected the observations of other travellers on this subject

Diod. l. 1.
p. 67.

Tom. 2.
p. 64.

Lib. 10.
c. 54.

subject. Pliny likewise mentions it; but it appears, from him, that the Egyptians, anciently, employed warm dung, not ovens, to hatch eggs*.

I HAVE said, that husbandmen particularly, and those who took care of flocks, were in great esteem in Egypt, some parts of it excepted, where the latter were not suffered †. It was, indeed, to these two professions that Egypt owed its riches and plenty. It is astonishing to reflect what advantages the Egyptians, by their art and labour, drew from a country of no great extent, but whose soil was made wonderfully fruitful by the inundations of the Nile, and the laborious industry of the inhabitants.

IT will be always so with every Kingdom, whose Governors direct all their actions to the publick welfare. The culture of lands, and the breeding of cattle will be an inexhaustible fund of wealth in all countries, where, as in Egypt, these profitable callings are supported and encouraged by maxims of state and policy: And we may consider it as a misfortune, that they are at present fallen into so general a disesteem; though 'tis from them that the most elevated ranks (as we esteem them) are furnished not only with the necessaries, but even the delights of

* *The words of Pliny referr'd to by Mr. Rollin are these. Nuper inde fortasse inventum, ut Ova in calido loco imposita paleis igne modico foverentur homine versante, pariterque & stato die illinc erumperet foetus. He speaks of this invention as modern, and seems to refer it to the curiosity of Livia the mother of Tiberius Cæsar, who, desirous of having a male-child, put an egg in her bosom, and when she parted with it, deliver'd it to one of her women to preserve the heat. This she made an augury to guess at the sex of the child she had then in her*

womb, and we are told, says Pliny, that she was not deceiv'd. It is probable Mr. Rollin may have met with some other place in Pliny favourable to his sentiment, tho' after some search I cannot find any.

† *Hogherds, in particular, had a general ill name throughout Egypt, as they had the care of so impure an animal. Herodotus (l. 2. c. 47.) tell us, that they were not permitted to enter the Egyptian Temples, nor wou'd any man give them his daughter in marriage.*

life.

life. For," says *Abbé Fleury*, in his admirable *Work*, Of the manners of the Israelites, where the subject I am upon is thoroughly examined, " it is the peasant
" who feeds the citizen, the magistrate, the gentle-
" man, the ecclesiastick: And, whatever artifice
" and craft may be used to convert money into com-
" modities, and these back again into money; yet
" all must ultimately be owned to be received from
" the products of the earth, and the animals which it
" sustains and nourishes. Nevertheless, when we com-
" pare men's different stations in life together, we give
" the lowest place to the husbandman: And with ma-
" ny people a wealthy citizen, enervated with sloth,
" useless to the publick, and void of all merit,
" has the preference, merely because he has more
" money, and lives a more easy and delightful life.

" But let us image to ourselves a country where
" so great a difference is not made between the sever-
" al conditions; where the life of a Nobleman is
" not made to consist in idleness and doing nothing,
" but in a careful preservation of his liberty; that
" is, in a due subjection to the laws and the consti-
" tution; by a man's subsisting upon his estate with-
" out any dependance, and being contented to enjoy
" a little with liberty, rather than a great deal at the
" price of mean and base compliances: A country,
" where sloth, effeminacy, and the ignorance of
" things necessary for life, are had in their just con-
" tempt; and where pleasure is less valued than
" health and bodily strength: In such a country, it
" will be much more reputable for a man to plough,
" and attend a flock; than to waste all his hours in
" sauntering from place to place, in gaming, and in
" expensive diversions." But we need not have
" recourse to Plato's common-wealth for instances of
" men who have led these useful lives. It was thus that
" the greatest part of mankind lived during near
" four thousand years; and that not only the Israe-
" lites, but the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Ro-
" mans,

mans, that is to say, nations the most civilized, and most renowned for arms and wisdom. They all inculcate the regard which ought to be paid to agriculture, and the breeding of cattle: One of which (without saying any thing of hemp and flax so necessary for our cloathing) supplies us, by corn, fruits, and pulse, with not only a plentiful but delicious nourishment; and the other, besides its supply of exquisite meats to cover our tables, almost gives life singly to manufactures and trade, by the skins and stuffs it furnishes.

PRINCES are commonly desirous, and their interest certainly requires it, that the peasant who, in a literal sense, sustains the heat and burden of the day, and brings so great a proportion of the taxes of the nation, should meet with favour and encouragement. But the kind and good intentions of Princes are too often defeated by the insatiable and merciless avarice of those who are appointed to collect their revenues. History has transmitted to us a fine saying of Tiberius on this head. A prefect of Egypt having augmented the annual tribute of the province, and, doubtless with the view of making his court to the Emperor, remitted to him a sum much larger than was customary; that Prince, who, in the beginning of his reign thought, or at least spoke justly, answered, *That it was his design, not to shear but to shear his sheep.**

Diod. l.
57. p. 608.

* Κείρεσθαι μὴ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' ἐκ ἀποκόμεισθαι βίλωναι. Diod. L. 57.

CHAP. VI.

Of the FERTILITY of EGYPT.

UNDER this head, I shall treat only of some plants peculiar to Egypt, and of the abundance of corn which it produced.

PAPYRUS. This is a plant from whose root shoot out a great many triangular stalks, to the height of Plin. l. 13. six or seven cubits. The ancients writ at first upon palm leaves; next on the inside of the bark of trees, from whence the word *Liber*, or book is derived; after that, upon tables cover'd over with wax, on which the characters were impress'd with an instrument call'd *Stylus*, sharp pointed at one end to write with, and flat at the other, to efface what had been written; which gave occasion to the following expression of Horace *.

*Ofi turn your stile, if you desire to write
Things that will bear a second reading——*

THE meaning of which is, that a good performance is not to be expected without many corrections. At last the use of paper † was introduc'd, and this was made of the bark of Papyrus, divided into thin flakes or leaves, which were very proper for writing, and this Papyrus was likewise call'd *Byblus* †.

*Memphis as yet knew not to form in leaves.
The watry Biblos.——*

PLINY calls it a wonderful invention *, so useful to life, that it preserves the memory of mighty actions, and immortalizes those who attchiev'd them. Varro ascribes this invention to Alexander the Great,

* *Sæpe stylum vertas iterum
quæ digna legi sint*

Scripturus L. 1. Sat. 10. v. 72.

† *The Papyrus was divided
into thin flakes (into which it
naturally parted) which being
laid on a table, and moistned
with the glutinous waters of the
Nile, were afterwards press'd*

together and dried in the sun.

‡ *Nondum flumineas Mem-
phis contexere Biblos
Noverat. Lucan.*

* *Postea promiscuè patuit usus
rei, qua constat immortalitas
hominum. Chartæ usu maxi-
me humanitas constat in me-
moria.*

when he built Alexandria; but he had only the merit of making paper more common, for the invention was of much greater antiquity. The same Pliny adds, that Eumenes, King of Pergamus, substituted parchment instead of paper; in emulation of Ptolemy King of Egypt, whose library he was ambitious to excel by this invention, which carried the advantage over paper. Parchment is the skin of a sheep dress'd and made fit to write upon. It was called Pergamenum from Pergamus, whose Kings had the honour of the invention. All the ancient manuscripts are either upon parchment, or vellum which is calf-skin, and a great deal finer than the common parchment. It is very curious to see white fine paper, wrought out of filthy rags pick'd up in the streets. The plant Papyrus was useful likewise for sails, tackling, clothes, coverlets, &c.

Plin. l. 19.
c. 1.

LINUM. FLAX is a plant whose bark, full of fibres or strings, is useful in making fine linnen. The method of making this linnen in Egypt was wonderful, and carried to such perfection, that the threads which were drawn out of them, were almost too small for the observation of the sharpest eye. Priests were always habited in linnen, and never in woollen; and not only the priests, but all persons of distinction generally wore linnen cloaths. This flax form'd a considerable branch of the Egyptian traffick, and great quantities of it were exported into foreign countries. The making of it employ'd a great number of hands; especially of the women, as appears from that passage of Isaiah, in which the prophet menaces Egypt with a drought of so terrible a kind that it should interrupt every kind of labour.

If. 19. 9. *Moreover, they that work in fine flax, and they that weave network shall be confounded.* We likewise find in scripture, that one effect of the plague of hail call'd down by Moses upon Egypt, was the destruction of all the flax which was then balled. This storm was in March.

Exod. 9.
31.

Byssus. This was another kind of flax extremely fine and small, which often receiv'd a purple dye. It was very dear; and none but rich and wealthy persons could afford to wear it. Pliny, who gives the first place to the Asbeston or Asbestinum (*i. e.* the incombustible flax) places the Byssus in the next rank; and says, that it serv'd as an ornament to the ladies*. It appears from the holy scriptures, that it was chiefly from Egypt that cloth made of this fine flax was brought. *Fine linnen with broidered work from Egypt.* Ezek. 27. 7.

I TAKE no notice of the Lotus or Lote tree, a plant in great request with the Egyptians, and whose berries served them in former times for bread. There was another Lotus in Africa, which gave its name to the Lotofagi or Lotus-eaters; because they liv'd upon the fruit of this tree, which had so delicious a taste, if Homer may be credited, that it made the eaters of it forget all the sweets of their native country †, as Ulysses found to his cost in his return from Troy.

IN general, it may be said, that the Egyptian pulse and fruits were excellent; and might, as Pliny observes, have suffic'd singly for the nourishment

* Proximus Byssino mulierum maxime deliciis genito, inventum jam est etiam [scilicet Linnum] quod ignibus non absumetur, vivum id vocant, ardentefque in focis conviviqrum ex eo vidimus mappas, sordibus exulis splendescentes igni magis, quam possent aquis. *i. e. A*

flax is now found out which is proof against the violence of Fire; it is called living flax, and we have seen table napkins of it glowing in the fires of our dining rooms; and receiving a lustre and a cleanliness from flames, which no waters could have given.

† Τῶν δ' ὅσας λατοῦσιν φάσκει μελιπρόσκαρον,
οὐκ ἔτ' ἀπυρρίλαι πάλιν ἠδελον, οὐδὲ νείσθαι.
Μὴ πᾶσι λατοῦσιν φαγόν, τόσση λάθεται.

I. v. 94, 95.
v. 102.

¶ Egyptus frugum quidem ferulissima, sed ut prope sola careat, tanta est cibo-

rum ex urbis abundantia. Plin. L. 21. c. 15.

of the inhabitants, such was their excellent quality, and so great their plenty. and indeed working men lived then almost upon nothing else, as appears from those who were employ'd in building the pyramids.

BESIDES these rural riches, the Nile from its fish, and the fatness it gave to the soil for the feeding of cattle, furnished the tables of the Egyptians with the most exquisite fish of every kind, and the most succulent flesh. This it was which made the Israelites so deeply regret the loss of Egypt, when they found themselves in the dreary desert. *Who, say they in a plaintive, and at the same time seditious tone, shall give us flesh to eat? We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers and melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick.*

Num. 11. 4, 5. *We sat by the flesh-pots, and we did eat bread to the full.*

Exod. 16. 3.

BUT the great and matchless wealth of Egypt arose from its corn, which, even in an almost universal famine, enabled it to support all the neighbouring nations, as it particularly did under Joseph's administration. In later ages it was the resource and most sure granary of Rome and Constantinople. It is a well known story, how a calumny raised against St. Athanasius, viz. of his having menaced Constantinople, that for the future no more corn should be imported to it from Alexandria; incens'd the Emperor Constantine against that holy Bishop, because he knew that his capital city could not subsist without the corn which was brought to it from Egypt. The same reason induc'd all the Emperors of Rome to take so great a care of Egypt, which they consider'd as the nursing mother of the world's metropolis.

NEVERTHELESS, the same river which enabled this province to subsist the two most populous cities in the world, sometimes reduced even Egypt it self to the most terrible famine: And it is astonishing that

that Joseph's wife foresight, which in fruitful years had made a provision for seasons of sterility should not have hinted to these so much boasted politicians, a like care against the changes and inconstancy of the Nile. Pliny, in his panegyrick upon Trajan, paints with wonderful strength the extremity to which that country was reduc'd by a famine, under that prince's reign, and his generous relief of it. The reader will not be displeas'd to read here an extract of it, in which a greater regard will be had to Pliny's thoughts, than to his expressions.

THE Egyptians, says Pliny, which gloried that they needed neither rain nor sun to produce their corn, and who believ'd they might confidently contest the prize of plenty with the most fruitful countries of the world, was condemned to an unexpected drought, and a fatal sterility; from the greatest part of their territories being deserted and left unwater'd by the Nile, whose inundation is the source and sure standard of their abundance. They then * implor'd that assistance from their prince, which they us'd to expect only from their river. The delay of their relief, was no longer than that which employed a courier to bring the melancholy news to Rome; and one would have imagin'd, that this misfortune had befallen them only to distinguish with greater lustre, the generosity and goodness of Cæsar †. It was an ancient and general opinion, that our city could not subsist without provisions drawn from Egypt. This vain and proud nation boasted, that tho' it was conquer'd, it ne-

* Inundatione, id est, ubertate regio fraudata, sic opem Cæsaris invocavit, ut solet amnem suum.

† Percrebuerat antiquitus urbem nostram nisi opibus Ægypti ali sustentarique non posse. Superbiebat ventosa & insolens

natio, quod victorem quidem Populum pasceret tamen, quodque in suo flumine, in suis manibus, vel abundantia nostra vel fames esset. Refudimus Nilo suas copias. Receipt frumenta quæ miserat, deportatasque messes revexit.

labyrinth of almost inextricable difficulties, from which persons of the greatest sagacity and condition can scarce disengage themselves, when they pretend to follow the series of history, and reduce it to fixed and certain dates. The curious may consult the learned pieces, in which this subject is examined thoroughly.*

I AM to premise, that Herodotus, upon the credit of the Egyptian priests, whom he had consulted, gives us a great number of oracles, and singular incidents; all which, tho' he relates them as so many facts, the judicious reader will easily discover them to be what they are, I mean fictions.

THE ancient history of Egypt comprehends 2158 years, and is naturally divided into three periods.

THE first begins with the establishment of the Egyptian monarchy, by Menes or Misraim, the son of * Cham, in the year of the world 1816; and ends with the destruction of that monarchy by Cambyses, king of Persia, in the year of the world 3479. This first period contains 1663 years.

THE second period is intermix'd with the Persian and Grecian history, extending to the death of Alexander the Great, which happen'd in the year 3681, and consequently includes 202 years.

THE third period, is that in which a new monarchy was form'd in Egypt by the Lagides or Ptolemies, descendants from Lagus; to the death of Cleopatra the last queen of Egypt in 3974, and this last comprehends 293 years.

I SHALL now treat only of the first period; reserving the two others for the *Æras* to which they belong.

* Sir John Marsham's *Chronic. Canon*. Father Pezron, *the dissertation of F. Tournemine*, and Abbé Sevin, &c.

The KINGS of EGYPT.

MENES. Historians are unanimously agreed, An. M. 1816. Bef. C. 2188. that Menes was the first king of Egypt. It is pretended, and not without foundation, that he is the same with Misraim, the son of Cham.

CHAM was the second son of Noah. When the family of the latter, after the extravagant attempt of building the tower of Babel, dispersed themselves into different countries, Cham retired to Africa, and it doubtless was he who afterwards was worshipped as a God, under the name of Jupiter Ammon. He had four children, * Chus, Misraim, Phut and Canaan. * or Cush. Gen. 10.6. Chus settled in Ethiopia, Misraim in Egypt, which generally is call'd in scripture after his name, and by that of Cham † his father; Phut took possession of that part of Africa, which lies westward of Egypt; and Canaan of the country which has since bore his name. The Canaanites are certainly the same people, who are called almost always Phoenicians by the Greeks, of which foreign name no reason can be given, any more than of the oblivion of the true one.

I RETURN to Misraim. He is agreed to be the same with Menes, whom all historians declare to be the first king of Egypt, the institutor of the worship of the gods, and of the ceremonies of the sacrifices. Herod. l. 2. 99. Diod. l. 1. P. 42.

BUSIRIS, some ages after him, built the famous city of Thebes, and made it the seat of his empire. We have elsewhere taken notice of the wealth and magnificence of this city. This prince is not to be confounded with Busiris, so infamous for his cruelties.

† The footsteps of its old name (Mesraim) remain to this day among the Arabians, who call it Mesre; by the testimony of Plutarch, it was call'd *χημία* Chemia, by an easy corruption for Chamia, and this for Cham or Ham.

Diod. l. 1. P. 44, 45. **OSYMANDYAS.** Diodorus gives a very particular description of many magnificent edifices, rais'd by this king, one of which was adorned with sculptures and paintings of exquisite beauty, representing his expedition against the Bactrians, a people of Asia, whom he had invaded with four hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. In another part of the edifice, was exhibited an assembly of judges, whose president wore, on his breast, a picture of truth, with her eyes shut, and himself surrounded with books; an emphatic emblem, denoting that judges ought to be perfectly versed in the laws, and impartial in the administration of them.

THE king likewise was painted here, offering to the gods gold and silver, which he drew every year from the mines of Egypt, amounting to the sum of sixteen millions *.

NOT far from hence, was seen a magnificent library, the oldest which is mentioned in history. Its title or inscription on the front was, *The office, or treasury for the diseases of the soul.* Near it were statues, representing all the Egyptian gods, to each of whom the king made suitable offerings; by which he seem'd to be desirous of informing posterity, that his life and reign had been crown'd with piety to the gods, and justice to men.

HIS mausoleum discover'd an uncommon magnificence; it was encompass'd with a circle of gold, a cubit in breadth, and 365 cubits in circumference. Each of which shew'd the rising and setting of the sun, moon and the rest of the planets. For so old as this king's reign, the Egyptians divided the year into twelve months, each consisting of thirty days; to which they added every year five days and six hours. The spectator did not know which to admire most in this stately monument, whether the richness of its materials, or the genius and industry of the artists and workmen.

* Three thousand two hundred Myriads of Minæ.

UCHOREUS, one of the successors of Osymandyas, built the city of Memphis. This city was 190 furlongs, or more than seven leagues in circuit, and stood at the point of the Delta, in that part where the Nile divides itself into several branches or streams. Southward from the city, he rais'd a very high mole. On the right and left he dug very deep moats to receive the river. These were fac'd with stone, and rais'd, near the city, by strong causeways; the whole designed to secure the city from the inundations of the Nile, and the incursions of the enemy. A city so advantageously situated, and so strongly fortified, that it was almost the key of the Nile; and, by this means, commanded the whole country, became soon the usual residence of the Egyptian kings. It kept the possession of this honour, till it was forc'd to resign it to Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great.

Diod.
P. 46.

MOERIS. This king made the famous lake, which went by his name, and whereof mention has been already made.

EGYPT had long been governed by its native princes, when strangers, call'd Shepherd-kings (Hycfos in the Egyptian language) from Arabia or Phoenicia invaded and seized a great part of lower Egypt, and Memphis itself; but upper Egypt remained unconquer'd, and the kingdom of Thebes existed till the reign of Sesostris. These foreign princes governed about 260 years.

A. M.
1920, before Jesus
Christ.
2084.

UNDER one of these princes, called Pharaoh in the scripture (a name common to all the kings of Egypt) Abraham arrived there with his wife Sarah, who was expos'd to a great hazard, on account of her exquisite beauty, which reaching the prince's ear, she was by him taken from Abraham, upon the supposition, that she was not his wife, but only his sister.

Gen. 12.
10, 20.
A. M.
2084, before Jesus
Christ
1920.

THETHMOSIS, or Amosis having expelled the Shepherd-kings, reigned in lower Egypt,

A. M.
2179, before
Christ

LONG 1825.

A. M. 2276, before Christ 1728. LONG after his reign, Joseph was brought a slave into Egypt, by some Ismaelitish merchants; sold to Potiphar; and, by a series of wonderful events, enjoyed the supreme authority, by his being rais'd to the chief employment of the kingdom. I shall pass over his history, as it is so universally known; but must take notice of a remark of Justin (the epitomizer of Trogius Pompeius, an excellent historian of the Augustin age) viz. that Joseph the youngest of Jacob's children, whom his brethren, fired by envy, had sold to foreign merchants; being endowed from heaven * with the interpretation of dreams, and a knowledge of futurity, preserved, by his uncommon prudence, Egypt from the famine with which it was menac'd, and was extremely caressed by the king.

A. M. 2298, before Jesus Christ 1706. Exod. 1. 8. JACOB also went into Egypt with his whole family, which met with the kindest treatment from the Egyptians, whilst Joseph's important services were fresh in their memories. But after his death, say the scriptures, *there arose up a new king, which knew not Joseph.*

A. M. 2427, before Jesus Christ 1577. Exod. 1. 11, 13, 14. RAMESES-MIAMUN, according to Archbishop Usher, was the name of this king, who is called Pharaoh in scripture. He reign'd sixty-six years, and oppress'd the Israelites in a most grievous manner. *He set over them task-masters, to afflict them with their burdens, and they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities †, Pitom and Raamses . . . and the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour, and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field; all their service wherein they made them serve,*

* Justin ascribes this gift of heaven to Joseph's skill in magical arts. Cum magicas ibi artes (Egypto sc.) solerti ingenio perciperet, &c.

† Heb. urbes thesaurorum 70. urbes munitas. These cities were appointed to preserve, as in a store-house, the corn, oil, and other products of Egypt. Vatab.

was with rigour. This king had two sons, Aménophis and Bufiris.

AMENOPHIS, the eldest, succeeded him. He was the Pharaoh under whose reign the Israelites departed out of Egypt, and who was drown'd in his passage through the Red-sea.

A. M.
2494,
before
Christ.

1510.

FATHER Tournemine makes Sefostris, of whom we shall speak immediately, the Pharaoh who rais'd the persecution against the Israelites, and oppressed them with the most painful toils. This is exactly agreeable to the account given by Diodorus, of this prince, who employed in his Egyptian works only foreigners; so that we may place the memorable event of the passage of the Red-sea, under his son Pheron*; and the characteristic of impiety ascribed to him by Herodotus, greatly strengthens the probability of this conjecture. The plan I have proposed to follow in this history, excuses me from entering into chronological discussions.

A. M.

2513, be-
fore Christ

1491.

DIODORUS, speaking of the Red-sea, has made one remark very worthy our observation; a tradition (says that historian) has been transmitted through the whole nation, from father to son, for many ages, that once an extraordinary ebb dried up the sea, so that its bottom was seen; and that a violent flow immediately after brought back the water to their former channel. It is evident, that the miraculous passage of Moses over the Red-sea is here hinted at; and I make this remark, purposely to admonish young students, not to slip over, in their perusal of authors, these precious remains of antiquity; especially when they bear, like this passage, any relation to religion.

L.3. p. 74.

ARCHBISHOP Usher says, that Aménophis left two sons, one called Sefostris or Sefostris, and the other Arnais. The Greeks call him Belus, and his two sons Egyptus and Danaus.

* This name bears a great resemblance to Pharaoh, so common to the Egyptian kings.

Herod. 1. 2. c. 102. 110.
Diod. 1. 1. p. 48. 54.

SESOSTRIS was not only one of the most powerful kings of Egypt, but one of the greatest conquerors that antiquity has to boast of.

HIS father, whether by inspiration, caprice, or as the Egyptians say, by the authority of an oracle, formed a design of making his son a conqueror. This he set about after the Egyptian manner, that is, in a great and noble way; all the male-children born the same day with Sesostris, were, by the king's order, brought to court. Here they were educated as if they had been his own children, with the same care that was bestow'd on Sesostris, with whom they were lodg'd. He could not possibly have given him more faithful ministers, or officers who more ardently desired the success of his arms. The chief part of their education was, the inuring them, from their infancy, to a hard and laborious life, in order that they might one day be capable of sustaining with ease the toils of war. They were never suffered to eat, till they had run, on foot or horseback, a considerable race. Hunting was their most common exercise.

Τα νομιμα-
τα εξ ης-
αδωμα.

L. 12. c. 4.

ÆLIAN remarks that Sesostris was taught by Mercury, who instructed him in politicks, and the arts of government. This Mercury, is he whom the Greeks called Trismegistus, *i. e.* thrice great. Egypt, his native country, owes to him the invention of almost every art. The two books, which go under his name, bear such evident characters of novelty, that the forgery is no longer doubted. There was another Mercury who also was very famous amongst the Egyptians, for his rare knowledge; and of much greater antiquity than him in question. Jamblicus, a priest of Egypt, affirms, that it was customary with the Egyptians, to publish all new books, or inventions under the name of Hermes or Mercury.

WHEN Sesostris was more advanc'd in years, his father sent him against the Arabians, in order that

by

by fighting against them, he might acquire the military science. Here the young prince learned to bear hunger and thirst, and subdued a nation which till then had never been conquered. The youth educated with him, attended him in all his campaigns.

ACCUSTOMED by this conquest to martial toils, he was next sent by his father to try his fortune westward. He invaded Libya, and subdued the greatest part of that vast continent.

SISOSTRIS. In the time of this expedition, A. M. 2513, before Christ 491. his father died, and left him capable of attempting the greatest enterprizes. He formed no less a design than that of the conquest of the world. But before he left his kingdom, he had provided for his domestic security; winning the hearts of his subjects by his generosity, justice, and a popular and obliging behaviour. He was no less studious to gain the hearts of his officers and soldiers, who were ever ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his service; persuaded that his enterprizes would all be unsuccessful, unless his army should be attached to his person, by all the ties of esteem, affection and interest. He divided the country into thirty-six governments (called Nomi) and bestowed them on persons of merit and the most approved fidelity.

In the mean time he made the requisite preparations, levied forces, and headed them with officers of the greatest bravery and reputation, that were taken chiefly from among the youths who had been educated with him. He had seventeen hundred of these officers, who all were capable of inspiring his troops with resolution, a love of discipline, and a zeal for the service of their prince. His army consisted of six hundred thousand foot, and twenty-four thousand horse, besides twenty-seven thousand armed chariots.

He began his expedition by invading Æthiopia, situated to the south of Egypt. He made it tributary,

butary, and obliged the nations of it to furnish him annually with a certain quantity of ebony, ivory and gold.

HE had fitted out a fleet of four hundred sail, and ordering it to sail to the Red-sea, made himself master of the isles and cities lying on the coasts of that sea. He himself heading his land army, over-ran and subdued Asia with amazing rapidity, and pierced farther into India than Hercules, Bacchus, and in after-times Alexander himself had ever done; for he subdued the countries beyond the Ganges, and advanced as far as the ocean. One may judge from hence how unable the more neighbouring countries were to resist him. The Scythians, as far as the river Tanais; Armenia and Cappadocia were conquer'd. He left a colony in the ancient kingdom of Colchos, situated to the east of the Black-sea, where the Egyptian customs and manners have been ever since retained. Herodotus saw in Asia Minor, from one sea to the other, monuments of his victories. In several countries was read the following inscription engraven on pillars. *Sesostris, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, subdued this country by the power of his arms.* Such pillars were found even in Thrace, and his empire extended from the Ganges to the Danube. In his expeditions, some nations bravely defended their liberties, and others yielded them up without making the least resistance. This disparity was denoted by him in hieroglyphical figures, on the monuments erected to perpetuate the remembrance of his victories; agreeably to the Egyptian practice.

THE scarcity of provisions in Thrace stopped the progress of his conquests, and prevented his advancing farther in Europe. One remarkable circumstance is observed in this conqueror, who never once thought, as others had done, of preserving his acquisitions; but contenting himself with the glory of having subdued and despoiled so many nations; after

after having made wild havock up and down the world for nine years, he confin'd himself almost within the antient limits of Egypt, a few neighbouring provinces excepted ; for we do not find any traces or footsteps of this new empire, either under himself or his successors.

He returned therefore laden with the spoils of the vanquished nations ; dragging after him a numberless multitude of captives, and cover'd with greater glory than his predecessors ; that glory I mean which employs so many tongues and pens in its praise ; which invades a great number of provinces in a hostile way, and is often productive of numberless calamities. He rewarded his officers and soldiers with a truly royal magnificence, proportionable to the quality and merit of each. He made it both his pleasure and duty, to put the companions of his victory in such a condition as might enable them to enjoy, during the remainder of their days, a calm and easy repose, the just recompence of their toils.

With regard to himself, for ever careful of his own reputation, and still more of making his power advantageous to his subjects ; he employ'd the repose which peace allow'd him, in raising works that might contribute more to the enriching of Egypt, than the immortalizing his name ; works, in which the art and industry of the workman was more admired, than the immense sums which had been expended on them.

AN hundred famous temples, rais'd as so many monuments of gratitude to the tutelar gods of all the cities, were the first, as well as the most illustrious testimonies he exhibited of his victories ; and he took care to publish in the inscriptions of them, that these mighty works had been completed without the assistance of any of his subjects. He made it his glory to be tender of them, and to employ only captives in these monuments of his conquests. The scriptures take notice of something like this, where they

they speak of the buildings of Solomon *. But he was especially studious of adorning and enriching the temple of Vulcan at Pelusium, in acknowledgment of that god's imaginary protection of him, when, on his return from his expeditions, his brother had a design of destroying him, in that city, with his wife and children, by setting fire to the apartment where he then lay.

HIS great work was, the raising, in every part of Egypt, a considerable number of high banks or moles, on which new cities were built, in order for them to be a security for men and beasts, during the inundations of the Nile.

FROM Memphis as far as the sea, he cut on both sides of the river, a great number of canals, for the conveniency of trade, and the conveying of provisions; and for the settling an easy correspondence between such cities as were most distant from one another. Besides the advantages of traffick, Egypt was, by these canals, made inaccessible to the cavalry of its enemies, which before had so often harassed it, by repeated incursions.

HE went farther: To secure Egypt from the incursions of its nearer neighbours, the Syrians and Arabians, he fortified all the eastern coast from Pelusium to Heliopolis, that is, for upwards of seven leagues.

SESOSTRIS might have been consider'd as one of the most illustrious and most boasted heroes of antiquity, had not the lustre of his warlike actions, as well as his pacific virtues, been tarnish'd by a thirst of glory, and a blind fondness for his own grandeur, which made him forget that he was a man. The kings and chiefs of the conquer'd nations came, at stated times, to do homage to their victor, and pay him the appointed tribute. On every other occasion, he treated them with some humanity and ge-

* 2 Chron. 8. 9. *But of the children of Israel did Solomon* *make no servants for his work.*
† 1500 stadia.

nerosity. But when he went to the temple, or enter'd his capital, he caus'd these princes, four abreast, to be harness'd to his carr, instead of horses; and valued himself upon his being thus drawn by the lords and sovereigns of other nations. What I am most surpriz'd at, is, that Diodorus should rank this foolish and inhuman vanity, among the most shining actions of this prince.

BEING grown blind in his old age, he dispatch'd himself, after having reign'd thirty three years, and left his kingdom infinitely rich. His empire nevertheless did not reach beyond the fourth generation. But there still remain'd, so low as the reign of Tiberius; magnificent monuments, which shew'd the extent of Egypt under Sesostris, and the immense tributes which were paid to it *.

Tacit.
Ann. l. 2.
c. 66.

Tacit.
Ann. l. 2.

I now go back to some incidents which should have been mention'd before, as they fell out in this period, but were omitted, in order that I might not break the thread of the history, and therefore will now be only glanced at.

ABOUT the Æra in question; the Egyptians settled themselves in divers parts of the earth. The colony, which Cecrops led out of Egypt; built twelve cities, or rather so many towns, of which he compos'd the kingdom of Athens.

A. M.
2448.

WE observ'd, that the brother of Sesostris, call'd by the Greeks Danus, had form'd a design to murder him, in his return to Egypt, from his conquests. But being defeated in his horrid project, he was oblig'd to fly. He thereupon retired to Peloponnesus, where he seiz'd upon the kingdom of Argos, which had been founded about four hundred years before, by Inachus.

A. M.
2530.

• *Legebantur indiſta gentibus tributa* — haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana jubentur — *inferib'd on pillars,*

were read the tributes impos'd on vanquish'd nations, which were not inferior to those now paid to the Parthian and Roman Powers.

A. M. 2533. BUSIRIS, brother of Amenophis, so infamous among the antients for his cruelties, exercis'd his tyranny at that time on the banks of the Nile; and barbarously cut the throats of all foreigners who landed in his country: This was probably during the absence of Sefoftris.

A. M. 2549. ABOUT the same time, Cadmus brought from Syria into Greece, the invention of letters. Some pretend that these characters or letters were Egyptian, and that Cadmus himself was a native of Egypt, and not of Phœnicia; and the Egyptians, who ascribe to themselves the invention of every art; and boast a greater antiquity than any other nation, give to their Mercury the honour of inventing letters. Most of the learned * agree that Cadmus carried the Phœnician or Syrian letters into Greece, and that those letters were Hebraic; the Hebrews, as a small nation, being comprehended under the general name of Syrians. Joseph Scaliger, in his notes on the Chronicon of Eusebius proves, that the Greek letters, and those of the Latin alphabet form'd from them, derive their original from the ancient Phœnician letters, which are the same with the Samaritan, and were us'd by the Jews before the Babylonish captivity. Cadmus carry'd only sixteen letters † into Greece; eight others being added afterwards.

I RETURN to the history of the Egyptian kings, whom I shall hereafter rank in the same order with Herodotus.

A. M. 2547. before Christ. 2457. PHERON succeeded Sefoftris in his kingdom, but not in his glory. Herodotus relates but one action

* The reader may consult, on this subject, two learned dissertations of Abbé Renaudot, inserted in the second volume of the history of the academy of inscriptions.

† The sixteen Letters brought by Cadmus into Greece, are

α, β, γ, δ, ε, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ο, π, ρ, σ, τ, υ. Palamedes, at the siege of Troy, i. e. upwards of two hundred and fifty years lower than Cadmus, added the four following, ζ, θ, φ, χ; and Simonides, a long time after invented the four others, namely, η, ε, ω, ψ.

of

of his, which shews how greatly he had degenerated from the religious sentiments of his father. In an extraordinary inundation of the Nile, which exceeded eighteen cubits, this Prince enrag'd at the wild havock which was made by it, threw a javelin at the river, as tho' he intended thereby to chastise its insolence; but was himself immediately punished for his impiety, if the historian may be credited, with the loss of sight.

PROTEUS. * He was of Memphis, where, in Herodotus's time, his temple was still standing, in which was a chapel dedicated to *Venus the Stranger*. It is conjectur'd that this Venus was Helen. For, in the reign of this monarch, Paris the Trojan, returning home with Helen whom he had stolen, was drove by a storm into one of the mouths of the Nile, called the Canopic; and from thence was conducted to Proteus at Memphis, who reproach'd him in the strongest terms for his base perfidy and guilt, in stealing the wife of his host, and with her all the effects found in his house. He added, that the only reason why he did not punish him with death (as his crime deserved) was, because the Egyptians did not care to imbrue their hands in the blood of strangers:

* I don't think my self obliged to enter here into a discussion, which wou'd be attended with very perplexing difficulties, should I pretend to reconcile the series, or succession of the kings, as given by Herodotus, with the opinion of Archbishop Usher. This last supposes, with a great many other learned men, that Sesostris is the son of that Egyptian king, who was drown'd in the Red-sea, whose reign must consequently have begun in the year of the world 2513, and continued till the year 2547, since it lasted thirty three years. Shou'd we allow fifty years to the reign of Pheron his

son, there would still be an interval of above two hundred years between Pheron and Proteus, who, according to Herodotus, succeeded immediately the first; since Proteus liv'd at the time of the siege of Troy, which, according to Usher, was taken An. Mun. 2820. I know not whether his almost total silence on the Egyptian Kings after Sesostris, was owing to his sense of this difficulty. I suppose a long interval to have been between Pheron and Proteus, accordingly Diodorus (l. 154.) fills it up with a great many Kings; and the same must be said of some of the following Kings.

Herod.
l. 2. c. 111.
Diod. l. 1.
p. 54.

A. M.
2800.
before
Christ
1204.
Herod.
l. 2. c.
112. 120.

That he would keep Helen with all the riches that were brought with her, in order to restore them to their owner: That as for himself (Paris) he must either quit his dominions in three days, or expect to be treated as an enemy. The king's order was obey'd: Paris continued his voyage, and arrived at Troy, whither he was closely pursued by the Grecian army. The Greeks summon'd the Trojans to surrender Helen, and, with her, all the treasures of which her husband had been plunder'd. The Trojans answer'd, that neither Helen, nor her treasures, were in their city. And indeed was it any ways likely, says Herodotus, that Priam who was so wise an old prince, should chuse to see his children and country die before his eyes, rather than give the Greeks the just and reasonable satisfaction they desir'd? But it was to no purpose for them to affirm with an oath, that Helen was not in their city; the Greeks, being firmly persuaded that they were trifled with, persisted obstinately in their unbelief. The Deity, continues the same historian, being resolv'd that the Trojans, by the total destruction of their city, should teach the affrighted world this lesson. *~~X~~ THAT GREAT CRIMES ARE ATTENDED WITH AS GREAT AND SIGNAL PUNISHMENTS, FROM THE OFFENDED GODS. ~~X~~ Menelaus, in his return from Troy, call'd at the court of king Proteus, who restor'd him Helen with all her treasure. Herodotus proves, from some passages in Homer, that the voyage of Paris to Egypt was not unknown to this poet.

L. 2. c. 121, 123. RHAMPSINITUS. The treasury built by this king, who was the richest of all his predecessors, and his descent into hell, as they are related by Herodotus, have so much the air of romance and fiction, that they deserve no mention here.

* Ως τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι ἐστὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι, παρὰ τῶν θεῶν.

TILL the reign of this king, there had been some shadow, at least, of justice and moderation, in Egypt; but in the two following reigns, violence and cruelty usurp'd their place.

CHEOPS and CEPHRENUS. These two princes, Herod. l. 2. c. 124, 128. Diod. l. 1. p. 57. who were truly brothers by the similitude of their manners, seem to have strove which of them should distinguish himself most, by a barefac'd impiety towards the gods, and a barbarous inhumanity to men. Cheops reign'd fifty years, and his brother Cephrenus fifty six years after him. They kept the temples shut during the whole time of their long reigns; and forbid the offering of sacrifices under the severest penalties. On the other hand, they oppress'd their subjects by employing them in the most grievous and useless works; and sacrificed the lives of numberless multitudes of men, merely to gratify a senseless ambition, of immortalizing their names by edifices of an enormous magnitude, and a boundless expence. It is remarkable, that those stately pyramids, which have so long been the admiration of the whole world, were the effect of the irreligion and merciless cruelty of those princes.

MYCERINUS. He was the son of Cheops, but of Herod. l. 2. p. 139, 140. Diod. p. 58. a character opposite to that of his father. So far from walking in his steps, he detested his conduct, and pursued quite different measures. He again opened the temples of the gods, restored the sacrifices, did all that lay in his power to comfort his subjects, and make them forget their past miseries; and believ'd himself set over them for no other purpose but to exercise justice, and to make them taste all the blessings of an equitable and peaceful administration. He heard their complaints, dry'd their tears, eas'd their misery, and thought himself not so much the master as the father of his people. This procured him the love of them all. Egypt resounded with his praises, and his name commanded veneration in all places.

ONE would naturally have concluded, that so prudent and humane a conduct, must have drawn down on Mycerinus the protection of the Gods. But it happen'd far otherwise. His misfortunes began from the death of a darling and only daughter, who form'd all his felicity. He order'd extraordinary honours to be paid to her memory, which were still continued in Herodotus's time. This historian informs us, that in the city of Saïs, exquisite odours were burnt, in the day time, at the tomb of this princess; and that it was illuminated with a lamp by night.

HE was told by an oracle, that his reign would continue but seven years. And as he complained of this to the Gods, in enquiring the reason, why so long and prosperous a reign had been indulg'd his father and uncle, who were equally cruel and impious; whilst his own, which he had endeavoured so carefully to render as equitable and mild as it was possible for him to do, should be so short and unhappy; he was answer'd, that these were the very causes of it, it being the will of the Gods, to oppress Egypt during the space of 150 years, to punish its crimes; and that his reign, which was appointed like those of the preceding monarchs to be of fifty years continuance, was shortned on account of his too great lenity. Mycerinus likewise built a pyramid, but much inferior in dimensions to that of his Father.

Herod. l. 2. c. 136. ASYCHIS. He enacted the law relating to loans, which forbid a son to borrow money, without giving the dead body of his father by way of security for it. The law added, that in case the son took no care to redeem his father's body, by restoring the loan, both himself and his children should be deprived for ever of the rights of sepulture.

HE valued himself for having surpass'd all his predecessors, by the building a pyramid of brick, more magnificent, if this king was to be credited, than

than any hitherto seen. The following inscription, by its founder's order, was engraved upon it. COMPARE ME NOT WITH PYRAMIDS BUILT OF STONE; WHICH I AS MUCH EXCELL AS JUPITER DOES ALL THE OTHER GODS*.

If we suppose that the six preceding reigns (the exact duration of some of which is not fixed by Herodotus) to have continued one hundred and seventy years; there will remain an interval of near three hundred years, to the reign of Sabachus the Ethiopian. In this interval I shall place a few incidents, related in holy scripture.

PHARAOH, king of Egypt gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon king of Israel; who receiv'd her in that part of Jerusalem, called the city of David, till he had built her a palace.

1 King
3, 1.
A. M.
2991,
before
Christ
1013.

SESACH or Shishak, otherwise called Sefonchis.

It was to him that Jeroboam fled, to avoid the wrath of Solomon, who intended to kill him. He abode in Egypt till Solomon's death, and then returned to Jerusalem, when, putting himself at the head of the rebels, he won from Rehoboam the son of Solomon, ten tribes, over whom he declared himself king.

1 Kings
11, 40.
and c. 12.
A. M.
3026,
before
Christ
978.

THIS Sefach, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, marched against Jerusalem, because the Jews had transgressed against the Lord. He came with twelve hundred chariots of war, and sixty thousand horse. He had brought numberless multitudes of people, who were all † Lybians, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians. He seized upon all the strongest cities of Judah, and advanced as far as Jerusalem. Then the king, and the Princes of Israel, having humbled themselves and asked the

2 Chron.
12 1-9.
A. M.
3033,
before
Christ
971.

* The remainder of the inscription, as we find it in Herodotus, is—for men plunging long poles down to the bottom of the lake. drew bricks (κλίβους ἐπέσαν) out

of the mud which stuck to them, and gave me this form.

† The English version of the Bible says, The Lubims, the Sukkiims, and the Ethiopians.

protection of the God of Israel; he told them, by his prophet Shemaiah, that he would not, because they humbled themselves, destroy them all as they had deserved; but that they should be the servants of Sefach: in order that they might know the difference of his service, and the service of the kingdoms of the * country. Sefach retired from Jerusalem, after having plundered the treasures, of the house of the Lord, and of the king's house; he carried off every thing with him, and even also the 300 shields of gold which Solomon had made.

2 Chron. 14. 9-13. A. M. 3263, before Christ 741. ZERAH, king of Ethiopia, and doubtless of Egypt at the same time, made war upon Afa king of Judah. His army consisted of a million of men, and three hundred chariots of war. Afa marched against him, and drawing up his army in order of battle, in full reliance on the God whom he served, "Lord," says he, it is nothing with thee to help whether "with many, or with them that have no power. Help us, O Lord our God, for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude; O Lord, thou art our God, let not man prevail against thee". A prayer offered up with such strong faith was heard. God struck the Ethiopians with terror; they fled, and all were irrecoverably defeated, being destroyed before the Lord and before his host.

Herod. 1. 2. cap. 137. D. od. 1. 1. p. 59. ANYSIS. He was blind, and under his reign SABACHUS, King of Ethiopia, being encouraged by an oracle, entered Egypt with a numerous army, and possessed himself of it. He reign'd with great clemency and justice. Instead of putting to death such criminals, as had been sentenced to die by the judges, he made them repair the causeys, on which the respective cities, to which they belonged, were situated. He built several magnificent temples, and among the rest, one in the city of Bubaste, of which Herodotus gives a long and elegant

* Or, of the kingdoms of the earth.

description.

description. After a reign of fifty years, which was the time appointed by the oracle, he retired voluntarily to his old kingdom of Ethiopia; and left the throne of Egypt to Anyfis, who, during this time, had concealed himself in the fens. It is ^{4. Reg.} believed that this Sabachus is the same with SO, ^{17. 4.} whose aid was implored by Hoshea king of Israel, ^{3279,} *before* ^{Christ} againſt Shalmanaser king of Assyria. ^{725.}

SEETON. He reigned fourteen years.

HE is the same with Sevechus, the son of Saba- ^{A. M.} con or Sual the Ethiopian, who reigned so long over ^{3285,} *before* ^{Christ} Egypt. This prince, so far from discharging the ^{719.} functions of a king, was ambitious of those of a priest; he causing himself to be consecrated high-priest of Vulcan. Abandoning himself entirely to superstition, he neglected to defend his kingdom by force of arms; paying no regard to military men, from a firm persuasion that he should never have occasion for their assistance; he therefore was so far from endeavouring to gain their affections, that he deprived them of their privileges, and even dispossessed them of such lands, as his predecessors had given them.

HE was soon made sensible of their resentment in a war that broke out suddenly, and from which he delivered himself solely by a miraculous protection, if Herodotus may be credited, who, intermixes his account of this war, with a great many fabulous particulars. Sennacharib (so Herodotus calls this prince) king of the Arabians and Assyrians, having entred Egypt with a numerous army, the Egyptian officers and soldiers refused to march against him. The high-priest of Vulcan, being thus reduced to the greatest extremity, had recourse to his god, who bid him not despond, but march courageously against the enemy with the few soldiers he could raise. Sethon obeyed the god. A small number of merchants, artificers, and others who were dregs of the populace, joined him; and with this handful of men, he marched to Pelusium where Sennacharib had

had pitched his camp. The night following, a prodigious multitude of rats entered the enemy's camp, and gnawing to pieces all their bow-strings and the thongs of their shields, rendered them incapable of making the least defence. Being disarmed in this manner, they were obliged to fly; and they retreated with the loss of a great part of their forces. Sethon being returned home, ordered a statue of himself to be set up in the temple of Vulcan, holding in his right hand a rat, and these words issuing out of his mouth. **LET THE MAN WHO BEHOLDS ME LEARN TO REVERENCE THE GODS ***

Chap. 17.

IT is very obvious that this story, as related here from Herodotus, is an alteration of that which is told in the second book of kings. We there see, that Sennacharib king of the Assyrians, having subdued all the neighbouring nations; and seized upon all the cities of Judah, resolved to besiege Hezekiah in Jerusalem his capital city. The ministers of this holy king, in spite of his opposition and the remonstrances of the prophet Isaiah, who promised them, in God's name, a sure and certain protection, provided they would trust in him only: sent secretly to the Egyptians and Ethiopians for succour. Their armies being united, marched to the relief of Jerusalem at the time appointed, and were met and vanquished by the Assyrian in a pitched battle. He pursued them into Egypt, and entirely laid waste the country. At his return from thence, the very night before he was to have given a general assault to Jerusalem, which then seemed lost to all hopes, the destroying angel made dreadful havock in the camp of the Assyrians; destroyed an hundred fourscore and five thousand men by fire and sword; and proved evidently, that they had great reason to rely, as Hezekiah had done, on the promise of the God of Israel.

* 'Ες ἰμὸς τῆς ὀρέων, ἐνὸς τῆς ἕρας.

THIS is the truth of the story. But as it was no ways honourable to the Egyptians, they endeavoured to turn it to their own advantage, by disguising and corrupting the circumstances of it. Nevertheless the footsteps of this history, tho' so much defaced, ought yet to be highly valued, as coming from an historian of so great antiquity and authority as Herodotus.

THE prophet Isaiah had foretold, at several times, that this expedition of the Egyptians, which had been concerted, seemingly, with such prudence, conducted with the greatest skill, and in which the forces of two powerful empires were united, in order to relieve the Jews; would not only be of no service to Jerusalem, but even destructive to Egypt itself, whose strongest cities would be taken, and its inhabitants of all ages and of both sexes led into captivity. See the 18th, 19th, 20th, 30th, 31st, &c. chapters of the second book of kings.

It was doubtless in this period, that the ruin of the famous No-Amon * spoken of by the prophet Nahum, was effected. That Prophet says, that *she was carried away—that her young children were dash'd* 3. 8, 10. *in pieces at the top of all the streets—that the enemy cast lots for her honourable men, and that all her great men were bound in chains.* He observes, that all these misfortunes befel that city, when Egypt and Ethiopia were her strength; which seems to refer clearly enough to the time of which we are here speaking, when Tharaca and Sethon had united their forces. However, this opinion is not without some difficulties, is opposed by some learned men, and 'tis enough for me, to have hinted it to the reader.

* The vulgar calls that city Alexandria, to which the Hebrew gives the name of No-Amon; because Alexandria was afterwards built in the place where this stood. Dean Prideaux, after Bochart, thinks that it was Thebes' sur-

named Diospolis. Indeed, the Egyptian Amon is the same with Jupiter. But Thebes is not the place where Alexandria was since built. Perhaps there was another city there, which also was called No-Amon.

Herod.
l. 2. cap.
142.

TILL the reign of Sethon, the Egyptian priests computed three hundred and forty-one generations of men; which make eleven thousand three hundred and forty years; allowing three generations to an hundred years. They counted the like number of priests and kings. The latter, whether gods or men, had succeeded one another without interruption, under the name of Piromis, an Egyptian word signifying good and virtuous. The Egyptian priests shew'd Herodotus three hundred and forty one wooden colossal statues of these Piromis, all ranged in order in a great hall. Such was the folly of the Egyptians, to lose themselves as it were, in a remote antiquity to which no other people pretended.

A. M.
3199,
before
Christ
705.
Afric apud
Syncl.
p. 74.

THARACA. He it was who joined Sethon, with an Ethiopian army, to relieve Jerusalem. After the death of Sethon, who had sat fourteen years on the throne, Tharaca ascended it, and reigned eighteen years. He was the last Ethiopian king who reigned in Egypt.

AFTER his death, the Egyptians, not being able to agree about the succession, were two years in a state of anarchy, during which there were great disorders and confusions among them.

T W E L V E K I N G S .

A. M.
3319,
before
Christ
685.
Herod.
l. 2. cap.
147. 152.
Diod. l. 1.
p. 59.

AT last, twelve of the principal noblemen, conspiring together, seized upon the kingdom, and divided it into so many parts. It was agreed by them, that each should govern his own district with equal power and authority, and that no one should attempt to invade or seize the dominions of another. They thought it necessary to make this agreement, and to bind it with the most dreadful oaths, to elude the prediction of an oracle, which had foretold, that he among them who should offer his libation to Vulcan out of a brazen bowl, should gain the sovereignty of Egypt. They reigned together fifteen years.

in the utmost harmony : and to leave a famous monument of their concord to posterity, they jointly, and at a common expence, built the famous labyrinth, which was a pile of building consisting of twelve large palaces, with as many edifices under ground as appear'd above it. I have spoke elsewhere of this labyrinth.

ONE day, as the twelve kings were assisting at a solemn and periodical sacrifice offered in the temple of Vulcan ; the priests, having presented each of them a golden bowl for the libation, one was wanting ; when * Psammetichus, without any design, * *He was one of the twelve.* supplied the want of this bowl with his brazen helmet (for each wore one) and with it performed the ceremony of the libation. This accident struck the rest of the kings, and recalled to their memories the prediction of the oracle abovemention'd. They thought it therefore necessary to secure themselves from his attempts, and therefore, with one consent, banished him into the fenny parts of Egypt.

AFTER Psammetichus had passed some years in them, waiting a favourable opportunity to revenge himself for the affront which had been put upon him ; a courier brought him advice, that brazen men were landed in Egypt. These were Grecian soldiers, Carians and Ionians, who had been cast upon Egypt by a storm ; and were completely covered with helmets, cuirasses and other arms of brass. Psammetichus immediately called to mind the oracle, which had answer'd him, that he should be succour'd by brazen men from the seaward. He did not doubt but that the prediction was now fulfilled. He therefore made a league with these strangers ; engaged them with mighty promises to stay with him ; privately levy'd other forces ; put these Greeks at their head ; when giving battle to the eleven kings, he defeated them, and remained sole possessor of Egypt.

A. M.
3334.
before
Christ.
670.
Herod.
l. 2. cap.
153, 154.

PSAMMETICUS. As this Prince, owed his preservation to the Ionians and Carians, he settled them in Egypt (from which all foreigners hitherto had been excluded;) and, by assigning them sufficient lands and fixed revenues, he made them obliterate the remembrance of their native country. By his order, Egyptian children were put under their care, to learn the Greek tongue; and on this occasion, and by this means, the Egyptians began to have a correspondence with the Greeks; and from that Æra, the Egyptian history, which till then had been intermix'd with pompous fables, by the artifice of the priests, begins, according to Herodotus, to exhibit greater truth and certainty.

As soon as Psammeticus was settled on the throne, he engaged in war against the king of Assyria, on account of the limits of the two empires. This war was of long continuance. Ever since that Syria had been conquer'd by the Assyrians; Palestine, being the only country that separated the two kingdoms, was the subject of continual discord; as afterwards between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ. They were eternally contending for it, and it was alternately won by the stronger. Psammetichus, seeing himself the peaceable possessor of all Egypt, and having restored the ancient form of government,* thought it high time for him to look to his frontiers; and to secure them against the Assyrian, his neighbour, whose power increased daily. For this purpose he entered Palestine at the head of an army.

PERHAPS we are to refer to the beginning of this war, an incident related by Diodorus. That the Egyptians, provoked to see the Greeks, posted on the right wing by the king himself, in preference to them; quitted the service, they being upwards of

* This revolution happened about seven years after the captivity of Manasseh king of Judah.

two hundred thousand men, and retired into Ethiopia, where they met with an advantageous settlement.

BE this as it will, Pſammeticus entered Paleſtine, Diod. c. 157. where his career was ſtopped by Azotus, one of the principal cities of the country, which gave him ſo much trouble, that he was forced to beſiege it twenty-nine years, before he could take it. This is the longeſt ſiege that is mentioned in all ancient hiſtory.

THIS was anciently one of the five capital cities of the Philiftins. The Egyptians, having ſeized it ſome time before, had fortified it with ſuch care, that it was their ſtrongeſt bulwark on that ſide. Nor could Sennacharib enter Egypt, till he had firſt made himſelf maſter of this city, which was taken by Tartan, one of his generals. The Aſſyrians had poſſeſſed it hitherto; and it was not till after the long ſiege juſt now mentioned, that Egypt recovered it. Iſa, 20. 1. Herod. 1. 1. cap. 105.

IN this period, the Scythians leaving the banks of the Palus Mœotis, made an inroad into Media defeated Cyaxares the king of that country, and laid waſte all Upper Aſia, of which they kept poſſeſſion during twenty eight years. They pushed their conqueſts in Syria, quite as far as to the frontiers of Egypt. But Pſammeticus marching out to meet them, prevailed ſo far, by his preſents and intreaties, that they advanced no farther; and by that means delivered his kingdom from theſe dangerous enemies.

TILL his reign, the Egyptians had imagined themſelves to be the moſt ancient nation upon earth. Pſammeticus was deſirous to prove this himſelf, and he employed a very extraordinary experiment for this purpoſe; he commanded (if we may credit the relation) two children, newly born of poor parents, to be brought up (in the country) in a hovel, that was to be kept continually ſhut. They were committed to the care of a ſhepherd, (others ſay, of nurſes,

Herod. 1. 2. c. 2. 3.

nurses, whose tongues were cut out) who was to feed them with the milk of goats; who was commanded not to suffer any person to enter into this hut, nor himself to speak even a single word in the hearing of these children. At the expiration of two years, as the shepherd was one day coming into the hut, to feed these children, they both cried out, with hands extended towards their foster-father, *beckos, beckos*. The shepherd surpriz'd to hear a language that was quite new to him, but which they repeated frequently afterwards, sent advice of this to the king, who ordered the children to be brought before him, in order that he himself might be witness to the truth of what was told him; and accordingly both of them began in his presence, to stammer out the sounds abovementioned. Nothing now was wanting but to enquire what nation it was that us'd this word; and it was found that the Phrygians called bread by this name. From this time they were allowed the honour of antiquity, or rather of priority, which the Egyptians themselves, notwithstanding their jealousy of it, and the many ages they had possess'd this glory, were obliged to resign to them. As goats were brought to these children, in order that they might feed upon their milk, and historians do not say that they were deaf; some are of opinion, that they might have learnt the word *Bek*; or *Bekkos*, by mimicking the cry of those creatures.

PSAMMETICHUS died in the 24th year of Josias, king of Judah, and was succeeded by his son Nechao.

A. M.
3388, before
Christ
616.
Herodot.
l. 1. c.
158.

NECHAO *. This Prince is often call'd in scripture Pharaoh-Necho.

HE attempted to join the Nile to the Red-Sea, by cutting a canal from the one to the other. They are separated at the distance of at least a thousand

* He is called Necho in the English version of the scriptures.

stadia †. After an hundred and twenty thousand workmen had lost their lives in this attempt, Nechao was obliged to desist. The oracle which had been consulted by him, having answer'd, that this new canal would open a passage to the Barbarians, (for so the Egyptians call'd all other nations) to invade Egypt.

NECHAO was more successful in another enter-^{Herod. 1.} prize. Skillful Phœnician mariners, whom he had ^{4. c. 42.} taken into his service, having sail'd out of the Red-Sea to discover the coasts of Africk, went propitiously round them; and the third year after their setting out, returned to Egypt through the Straits of Gibraltar. This was a very extraordinary voyage, in an age when the compass was not known. This happen'd twenty one centuries before *Vasco de Gama*, a Portuguese (by discovering the *Cape of Good Hope*, in the year 1497) found out the very same way to sail to the Indies, by which these Phœnicians had come from thence into the Mediterranean.

THE Babylonians and Medes having destroy'd ^{Joseph. Antiq. 1. 10. c. 6.} Nineveh, and with it the empire of the Assyri-^{2 Kings 23. 29, 30.} ans, were thereby become so formidable, that they drew upon themselves the jealousy of all their neighbours. Nechao, alarmed at the danger, advanced ^{2 Chron. 35. 20-25.} to the Euprates, at the head of a powerful army, in order to check their progress. *Josiah*, King of Judah, so famous for his uncommon piety, observing that he took his rout through Judea, resolv'd to oppose his passage. With this view, he rais'd all the forces of his kingdom, and posted himself in the valley of Megiddo (a city on this side Jordan, belonging to the tribe of Manasseh, and call'd *Magdolus* by *Herodotus*). Nechao informed him by a herald, that his enterprize was not design'd against

† *Allowing 625 feet. (or 125 one third of a mile. Herodotus geometrical paces) to each stadium, the distance will be 118 English miles, and a little above* *says, that this design was afterwards put in execution by Darius the Persian, B. 2. c. 158.*

him; that he had other enemies in view, and that he had undertook this war, in the name of God, who was with him; that for this reason he advised Jofiah not to concern himself with this war, for fear lest it otherwise should turn to his disadvantage. However, Jofiah was not mov'd by these reasons: he was sensible that the bare march of so powerful an army through Judea, would quite ruin it. And besides, he feared that the victor, after the defeat of the Babylonians would fall upon him, and dispossess him of part of his dominions. He therefore march'd to engage Nechao; and was not only vanquish'd by him, but unfortunately received a wound, of which he died at Jerusalem, whither he had ordered himself to be carried.

NECHAO animated by this victory, continued his march, and advanced towards the Euphrates. He defeated the Babylonians; took Carchemish, a large city in that country, and securing to himself the possession of it, by a strong garrison, he returned to his own Kingdom, after having been absent three months from it.

4 Reg. 23. BEING inform'd in his march homeward, that Jehoaz had caused himself to be proclaim'd King at Jerusalem, without first asking his consent; he commanded him to meet him at Riblah in Syria. The unhappy Prince was no sooner arriv'd there, but he was put in chains by Nechao's order, and sent prisoner to Egypt, where he died. From thence, pursuing his march, he came to Jerusalem, where he gave the scepter to Eliakim (called by him Jehoiakim) another of Jofiah's sons, in the room of his brother; and impos'd an annual tribute on the land, of an hundred talents of silver, and one talent of gold*. This being done, he returned in triumph to Egypt.

HERO-

* *The Hebrew silver talent, according to Dr. Cumberland, is equivalent*

HERODOTUS, mentioning this King's expedition, Lib. 2. c. 159. and the victory gain'd by him * at Magdolus, (as he calls it) says, that he afterwards took the city Cadytis, which he represents as situated in the mountains of Palestine, and equal in extent to Sardis, the capital at that time not only of Lydia, but of all Asia Minor: This description can suit only Jerusalem, which was situated in the manner above described, and was then the only city in those parts that could be compared to Sardis. It appears besides from scripture, that Nechao, after his victory, won this capital of Judea: for he was there in person, when he gave the Crown to Jehoiakim. The very name Cadytis, which in Hebrew signifies the Holy, points clearly to the city of Jerusalem, as is proved by the learned Dean Prideaux †.

NABOPOLASSAR, King of Babylon, observing A. M. that since the taking of Carchemish by Nechao, all 3397. before Christ Syria and Palestine had shaken off their allegiance to him; and that his years and infirmities would not permit him to march against the rebels in person, he therefore associated his son Nabuchodonosor, or Nebuchadnezzar with him in the empire, and sent him at the 607. 1 Par. Liv. 1. p. 106, &c.

equivalent to 353 l. 11 s. 10 d. $\frac{3}{4}$ so that } 35359 l. 07 s. 6 d.
 100 talents English money, make
 The gold talent according to the same ——— 5075 l. 15 s. 7 d. $\frac{3}{4}$
 The amount of the whole tribute ——— 40435 l. 03 s. 1. d. $\frac{3}{4}$

† From the time that Solomon, by means of his temple, had made Jerusalem the common place of worship to all Israel, it was distinguished from the rest of the cities by the epithet Holy; and in the Old Testament was called Air Hakkodesh, i. e. the city of holiness, or the holy city. It bore this title upon the coins, and the shekel was inscribed Jerusalem Kedusha, i. e. Jerusalem the holy. At length Jerusalem, for

brevity sake, was omitted, and only Kedusha reserved. The Syriac being the prevailing language in Herodotus's time, Kedusha, by a change in that dialect of sh into th, was made Kedutha; and Herodotus giving it a Greek termination, it was writ Kadiusc or Cadytis. Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. 1. Part 1. p. 36, 37, 8vo. Edit.

Jer. 46. 2, head of an army into those countries. This young Prince vanquished the army of Nechao near the river Euphrates, recovered Carchemish, and reduced the revolted provinces to their allegiance, as Jeremiah had foretold. Thus he dispossest the Egyptians, of all that belong'd to them, from the little * † river of Egypt to the Euphrates, which comprehended all Syria and Palestine.

NECHAO dying after he had reigned sixteen years, left the kingdom to his son.

PSAMMIS. His reign was but of six years, and history has left us nothing memorable concerning him, except that he made an expedition into Ethiopia.

'Twas to this Prince that the Eleans sent a splendid embassy, after having instituted the Olympick games. They had established the whole with such care, and made such excellent regulations, that, in their opinion, nothing seem'd wanting to their perfection, and envy it self could not find any fault with them. However, they did not desire so much to have the opinion, as to gain the approbation of the Egyptians, who were look'd upon as the wisest and most judicious people in the world. Accordingly the King assembled the sages of his nation. After all things had been heard which could be said in favour of this institution; the Eleans were asked, if the citizens and foreigners were admitted indifferently to these games; to which 'twas answered, that they were open to every one. To this the Egyptians answered, that the rules of justice would have been more strictly observed, had foreigners only been admitted to these combats; because it was very

* This little river of Egypt, so often mentioned in scripture, as the boundary of Palestine towards Egypt, was not the Nile, but a small river, which running through the desert that lay betwixt these two nations, was antiently the common boundary of both. So far the land, which had been promis'd to the posterity of Abraham, and divided among them by lot, extended.

difficult for the judges, in their award of the victory and the prize, not to be prejudiced in favour of their fellow citizens.

APRIES. In scripture he is called Pharaoh-Hophra; and, succeeding his father Psammis, reigned A. M. 3410, before Christ twenty-five years.

DURING the first years of his reign, he was as happy as of any of his predecessors. He carried his arms into Cyprus; besieged the city of Sidon by sea and land; took it, and made himself master of all Phœnicia and Palestine. 594. Jerem. 44. 30. Herod. 1. 2. c. 161. Diod. 1. 2. P. 72.

So rapid a success elated his heart to a prodigious degree, and as Herodotus informs us, swell'd him with so much pride and infatuation, that he boasted, it was not in the power of the Gods themselves to dethrone him; so great was the idea he had form'd to himself of the solidity of his own power. It was with a view to these arrogant conceits, that Ezekiel put the vain and impious words following into his mouth: *My river is mine own, and I have made it for my self.* But the true God proved to him afterwards that he had a master, and that he was a meer man; and he had threaten'd ~~him~~ long before, by his prophets, with all the calamities he was resolv'd to bring upon him, in order to punish him for his pride.

A LITTLE after that Ophra had ascended the throne, Zedekiah, King of Judah, sent an embassy to, and concluded a mutual alliance with him; and the year following, breaking the oath of fidelity he had taken to the King of Babylon, he rebelled openly against him. Ezek. 17. 15.

NOTWITHSTANDING God had so often forbid his people, to have recourse to Egypt, or put any confidence in the people of it; notwithstanding the repeated calamities in which they had been involved, for their having relied on the Egyptians, they still thought this nation their most sure refuge in danger; and accordingly could not forbear applying to it. This

they had already done in the reign of the holy King Hezekiah; and which gave occasion to God's message to his people, by the mouth of his prophet Isaiah. "Wo to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses and trust in chariots, because they are many; but they look not unto the holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord.— The Egyptians are men and not God, and their horses flesh not spirit; when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down, and they shall fall together." But neither the prophet nor the King were heard; and nothing but the most fatal experience could open their eyes, and make them see evidently the truth of God's threatnings.

THE Jews behaved in the very same manner on this occasion. Zedekiah, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of Jeremiah to the contrary, resolved to conclude an alliance with the Egyptian Monarch, who, puffed up with the success of his arms, and confident that nothing could resist his power, declared himself the protector of Israel, and promised to deliver it from the tyranny of Nabuchodonosor. But God, provoked that a mortal had thus dared to intrude himself into his place, expressed his mind to another prophet, as follows. "Son of man, set thy face against Pharaoh King of Egypt, and prophesy against him, and against all Egypt. Speak and say, thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh King of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, my river is my own, and I have made it for my self. But I will put hooks in thy Jaws, &c." God, after comparing him to a reed, which breaks under the man who leans upon it, and wounds his hand, adds, "Behold I will bring a sword upon thee, and cut off man and beast out of thee; the land of Egypt shall be desolate and they shall know that I am the Lord, because he

31. 1, 3.

Ezek. 29.
2, 3, 4.

2. 8, 9.

“ he hath said the river is mine, and I have made
 “ it.” The same prophet, in several succeeding Ch. 29.
 chapters, continues to foretel the calamities with 30, 31, 32
 which Egypt was going to be overwhelmed,

ZEDEKIAH was far from giving credit to these
 predictions. When he heard of the approach of the
 Egyptian army, and saw Nabuchodonosor raise the
 siege of Jerusalem, he fancied that his deliverance
 was completed, and anticipated a triumph. His
 joy however was but of short duration; for the Egv-
 tians seeing the Chaldeans advancing forward again,
 did not dare to encounter so numerous and well dis-
 ciplin'd an army. They therefore marched back
 into their own country, and left the unfortunate Ze-
 dekiah exposed to all the dangers of a war in which
 they themselves had involv'd him. Nabuchodono-
 sor again sat down before Jerusalem; took and burnt
 it, as Jeremiah had prophesied.

MANY years after, the chastisements with which
 God had threatened Apries (Pharaoh Hophra) be-
 gan to fall upon him. For the Cyrenians, a Greek
 colony, which had settled in Africa, between Libya
 and Egypt, having seized upon, and divided among
 themselves a great part of the country belonging to
 the Lybians; forced these nations, who were thus
 dispossessed by violence, to throw themselves into
 the arms of this Prince, and implore his protection.
 Immediately Apries sent a mighty army into Libya,
 to oppose the Cyrenian Greeks; but this army being
 entirely defeated and almost cut to pieces; the E-
 gyptians imagined that Apries had sent it into Ly-
 bia, only to get it destroyed; and by that means,
 to gain him an opportunity of governing his subjects
 without check or controul. This reflexion prompt-
 ed the Egyptians to shake off the yoke which had
 been laid on them by their Prince, whom they now
 considered as their enemy. But Apries, hearing of
 the rebellion, dispatched Amasis, one of his officers,
 to suppress it, and force the rebels to return to their
 allegiance

allegiance. But the moment Amasis began to make his speech, they fixed a helmet upon his head, in token of the exalted dignity to which they intended to raise him, and proclaimed him King. Amasis having accepted the crown, staid with the mutineers, and confirmed them in their rebellion.

APRIES more exasperated than ever at this news, sent Paterbemis, another of his great officers, and one of the principal Lords of his court, to put Amasis under an arrest, and bring him before him; but Paterbemis not being able to execute his commands, and bring away the rebel, as he was surrounded with the instruments of his treachery; was treated by Apries at his return in the most ignominious and inhuman manner; for, his nose and ears were cut off by the command of that Prince, who never considered, that nothing but his want of power had prevented his executing his commission. So bloody an outrage, done to a person of such high distinction, exasperated the Egyptians so much, that the greatest part of them joined the rebels, and the insurrection became general. Apries was now forced to retire into upper Egypt, where he supported himself some years, during which Amasis enjoyed the rest of his dominions.

THE troubles which thus distracted Egypt, afforded Nabuchodonosor a favourable opportunity to invade that kingdom; and 'twas God himself inspired him with the resolution. This Prince, who was the instrument of God's wrath (tho' he did know himself to be so) against a people whom he was resolv'd to chastise, had just before taken Tyre, where himself and his army had laboured under incredible difficulties. To recompense their toils, God abandoned Egypt to their arms. It is wonderful to hear the Creator himself delivering his thoughts on this subject. There are few passages in scripture more remarkable than this, or which give a stronger idea of the supreme authority which God exercises over all

the Princes and kingdoms of the earth. ' Son
 of man (says the Almighty to his Prophet Eze-^{29.18,19.}
 kiel) Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon caused his^{20.}
 army to serve a great service against Tyrus: Every
 head was made bald, and every shoulder was
 peeled*: Yet had he no wages; nor his army †
 for the service he had served against it. There-
 fore thus saith the Lord God, Behold I will give
 the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar King of
 Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and
 take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be
 the wages for his army. I have given him the
 land of Egypt for his labour wherewith he served
 against it, because they wrought for me, saith the
 Lord God'. Says another Prophet, ' He shall Jerem. 43.
 array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shep-^{12.}
 herd putteth on his garment, and he shall go forth
 from thence in peace.' Thus shall he load him-
 self with booty, and thus cover his own shoulders,
 and those of his fold, with all the spoils of Egypt.
 Noble expressions! which shew the prodigious ease
 with which all the power and riches of a kingdom
 are carry'd off, when God appoints the revolution;
 and shift like a garment, to a new owner, who has
 no more to do but to take it, and cloath himself
 with it.

* The baldness of the heads of
 the Babylonians was owing to the
 pressure of their helmets; and
 their peeled shoulders to their
 carrying baskets of earth, and
 large pieces of timber, to join Tyre
 to the continent. Baldness was
 itself a badge of slavery; and,
 joined to the peeled shoulders,
 shews that the conqueror's army
 sustained even the most servile la-
 bours in this memorable siege.

† For the better understanding

of this passage, we are to know,
 that Nabuchodonosor sustained in-
 credible hardships at the siege of
 Tyre; and that when the Tyrians
 saw themselves closely attacked,
 the nobles conveyed themselves and
 their richest effects on ship-board,
 and retired into their islands. So
 that when Nabuchodonosor took the
 city, he found nothing to recompense
 his losses, and the troubles he had
 undergone in this siege. S. Hieron.

THE King of Babylon taking advantage therefore of the intestine divisions, which the rebellion of Amasis had raised in that kingdom, marched thither at the head of his army. He subdued Egypt from Migdol or Magdol, a town on the frontiers of it as far as Syene, in the opposite extremity where it borders on Ethiopia. He made a horrible devastation wherever he came; killed a great number of the inhabitants, and made such dreadful havock in the country, that the damage could not be repaired in forty years. Nabuchodonosor, having loaded his army with spoils, and conquered the whole kingdom, came to an accommodation with Amasis; and after leaving him as his Viceroy there, he returned to Babylon.

Herod. 1. 2. c. 163, 169. **APRIES** (Pharaoh-Hophra) now leaving the place where he had concealed himself, advanced towards the sea-coast (probably towards Libya;) and hiring an army of Carians, Ionians, and other foreigners, he marched against Amasis, whom he fought near Memphis; but being overcome, Apries was taken prisoner; carried to the city of Sais, and there strangled in his own palace.

THE Almighty had given, by the mouth of his prophets, an astonishing relation of the several circumstances of this mighty event. It was he who had broke the power of Apries, which was once so formidable; and put the sword into the hand of Nabuchodonosor, in order that he might chastise and humble that haughty Prince. 'I am, said he, against Pharaoh King of Egypt, and will break his arms which were strong, but now are broken; and I will cause the sword to fall out of his hand.-- But I will strengthen the arms of the King of Babylon, and put my sword into his hand. — And they shall know that I am the Lord.'

He enumerates the towns which were to fall a prey to the victors; Pathros, Zoan, Noⁿ (called in the

the vulgate Alexandria) Sin, Aven, Phibeseth, &c.*

HE takes notice particularly of the unhappy end, to which the captive King should come. ' Thus saith Jerem. 44. ' the Lord, behold I will give Pharaoh-Hopra, the ^{30.} ' King of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and ' into the hand of them that seek his life.'

LASTLY he declares, that during forty years, the Egyptians shall be oppressed with every species of calamity, and be reduced to so deplorable a state, ' That there shall be no more a Prince of the land Ezek. 30. ' of Egypt.' The event justified this prophesy. ^{13.} Soon after the expiration of these forty years, Egypt was made a province of the Persian empire, and has been governed ever since by foreigners. For since the ruin of the Persian Monarchy, it has been subject successively to the Macedonians, the Romans, the Saracens, the Mamalukes, and lastly to the Turks, who possess it at this day.

GOD was not less punctual in the accomplishment Jerem. of his prophecies, with regard to such of his own Chapters people, as had retired, contrary to his prohibition, ^{43. 44.} into Egypt, after the taking of Jerusalem; and forced Jeremiah along with them. The instant they had reached Egypt, and were arrived at Taphnis (or Tanis) the prophet, after having hid in their presence (by God's command) stones in a grotto which was near the King's palace; he declared to them, that Nabuchodonosor should soon arrive in Egypt, and that God would establish his throne in that very place; that this Prince would lay waste the whole kingdom, and carry sword and fire into all places; that themselves should fall into the hand of these cruel enemies, when one part of them would be massacred, and the rest led captive to Babylon; that only

* I have given the names of Aven, Heliopolis; against Phibeseth, Pubastum (Bubaste); and these towns as they stand in our English version. In the margin by these last names they are mentioned against Zoan, Tanis; against Pelusium; against

a very small number should escape the common desolation, and be at last restored to their country. All these prophecies had their accomplishment in the appointed time.

A. M. 3435, before Jesus Christ 569. In Tim. Herod. 1. 2. c. 172.

AMASIS. After the death of Apries, Amasis became peaceable possessor of Egypt, and reigned forty years over it. He was, according to Plato, a native of the city of Sais.

As he was but of mean extraction, he met with no respect, but was only contemned by his subjects, in the beginning of his reign: He was not insensible of this; but nevertheless thought it his interest to subdue their tempers by an artful carriage, and win their affection by gentleness and reason. He had a golden cistern, in which himself, and those persons who were admitted to his table used to wash their feet: He melted it down, and had it cast into a statue, and then exposed the new God to publick worship. The people now hastened in crouds, and paid their adoration to the statue. The King, having assembled the people, informed them of the vile uses to which this statue had once been put, which nevertheless had now their religious prostrations: The application was easy, and had the desired success; the people thenceforward paid the King all the respect that is due to Majesty.

Ibid. cap. 73.

He always used to devote the whole mornings to publick affairs, in order to receive petitions, give audience, pronounce sentence, and hold his councils: The rest of the day was given to pleasure; and as Amasis, in hours of diversion, was extremely gay, and seemed to carry his mirth beyond proper bounds; his courtiers took the liberty to represent to him the unsuitableness of such a behaviour; when he answered, that 'twas as impossible for the mind to be always serious and intent upon business, as for a bow to continue always bent.

It was this King who obliged the inhabitants of every town, to enter their names in a book kept by the

the magistrate for that purpose, with their profession, and manner of living. Solon inserted this custom among his laws.

HE built many magnificent temples, especially at Sais the place of his birth. Herodotus admired especially a chapel there, formed of one single stone, and which was twenty one cubits* in front, fourteen in depth, and eight in height; its demensions within were not quite so large: It had been brought from Elephantina, and two thousand men had employed three years, in conveying it along the Nile.

AMASIS had a great esteem for the Greeks. He granted them large privileges; and permitted such of them as were desirous of settling in Egypt, to live in the city of Naucratis, so famous for its harbour. When the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi, which had been burnt, was debated on, and the expence was computed at three hundred talents, Amasis furnished the Delphians with a very considerable sum towards discharging their quota, which was the fourth part of the whole charge.

HE made an alliance with the Cyrenians, and married a wife from among them.

HE is the only King of Egypt who conquered the island of Cyprus, and made it tributary.

UNDER his reign Pythagoras came into Egypt, he having been recommended to that Monarch by the famous Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who was joined in strict friendship with Amasis, and will be mentioned hereafter. Pythagoras, during his stay in Egypt, was initiated in all the mysteries of the country; and instructed by the priests in whatever was most abstruse and important in their religion. 'Twas here he imbibed his doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls.

IN the expedition in which Cyrus conquered so great a part of the world, Egypt doubtless was subdued, like the rest of the provinces; and Xenophon de-

*The cubit is one foot and almost ten inches. Vide supra.

clares this in the beginning of his Cyropedia or institution of that Prince.* Probably, after that the forty years of desolation which had been prophesied by the prophet, were expired, Egypt beginning gradually to recover itself, Amasis shook off the yoke, and recovered his liberty.

ACCORDINGLY we find, that one of the first cares of Cambyfes the son of Cyrus, after he had ascended the throne, was to carry his arms into Egypt. On his arrival there, Amasis was just dead, and was succeeded by his son Psammenitus.

PSAMMENITUS, Cambyfes, after having gained a battle, pursued the vanquished enemy to Memphis; besieged the city, and soon won it: However he treated the King with clemency, granted him his life, and assigned him an honourable pension; but being informed that he was secretly concerting measures to re-ascend his throne, he put him to death. Psammenitus reigned but six months: All Egypt submitted immediately to the victor. The particulars of this history shall be related more at large, when I come to that of Cambyfes.

HERE ends the succession of the Egyptian Kings. From this æra the history of this nation, as was before observed, will be blended with that of the Persians and Greeks, till the death of Alexander. At that period, a new Monarchy will arise in Egypt, founded by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, which will continue to Cleopatra, that is, for about three hundred years. I shall treat each of these subjects, in the several periods to which they belong.

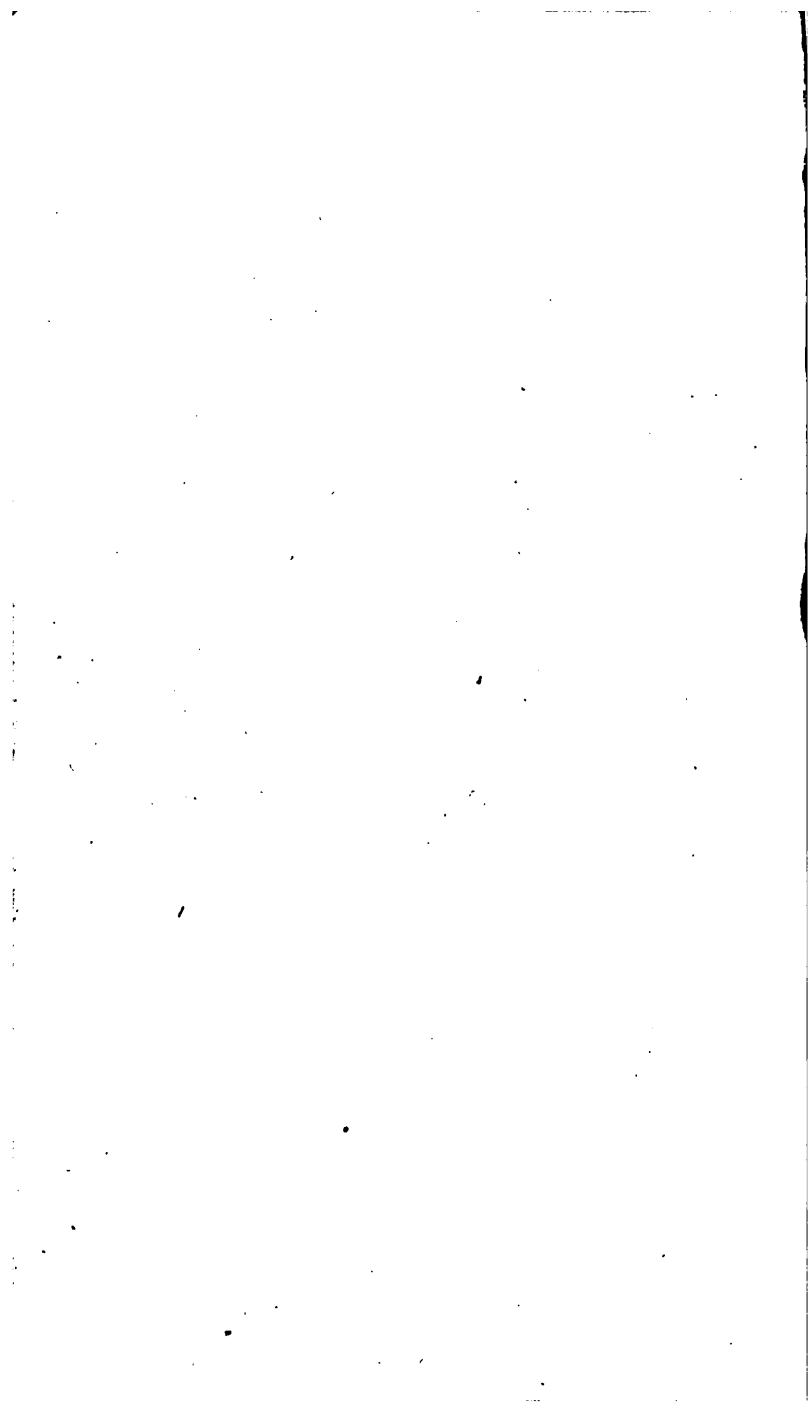
* Ἐπιπέδῃ δὲ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καταβάς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλατταν, καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, p. 5. Edit. Hutchinsoni.

A. M.

3479,
before J.
Jw Christ
525.




THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
CARTHAGINIANS.
BOOK II.





BOOK the SECOND.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CARTHAGINIANS.

 H A T I have to say concerning the *Carthaginians* shall be divided into two Parts. In the first, shall be given a general Idea of the Manners of this People, of their Character, their Government, their Religion, their Power, and their Riches. In the second, after some Notice taken by what Steps *Carthage* establish'd and increas'd her Power, I shall enter upon a Relation of the Wars by which she became so famous.

I

PART



PART the FIRST.

OF THE
CHARACTER, MANNERS, RELI-
GION, GOVERNMENT
OF THE
CARTHAGINIANS.

SECT. I. CARTHAGE

*Form'd upon the Model of TYRUS, of which
she was a Colony.*



THE Carthaginians ow'd to the Tyrians not only their Origin, but their Manners, their Language, their Customs, their Laws, their Religion, their Taste for, and Application to Commerce, as the whole Sequel will declare. They spoke the same Language with the Tyrians, or rather with the Canaanites and Israelites, that is to say, the Hebrew Tongue, from which the Tyrian was, at least, entirely deriv'd. Their Names had commonly some particular Meaning: Thus *Hanno* signify'd *gracious, bountiful*; *Dido*, *amiable or well belov'd*; *Sophonisba*, *one who keeps faithfully her Husband's Secrets*. From a Spirit of Religion



H. Gravelot, inv. et delin.

J. B. Guillebert sculp.

*HANNIBAL at nine Years of Age, Swearing
Enmity to the Romans. P. 251.*

Published Feb. 1st 1754, by J & P. Knapton



Religion they likewise joyn'd the Name of God to their own, agreeably to the Genius of the *Hebrews*. *Hannibal*, which answers to *Ananias*, signifies *Baal* (or the Lord) has been gracious to me. *Asdrubal* answering to *Azarias*, signifies the Lord will be our Succour. It is thus with other Names, *Adherbal*, *Mabarbal*, *Maftanabal*, &c. The Word *Pœni*, from which comes *Punic*, is the same with *Phœni* or *Phœnicians*, because they drew their Origin from *Phœniœa*. In the *Pœnulus* of *Plautus* is a Scene which has much exercis'd the Wits of the Learned^a.

BUT the strict and close Union, which always subsisted between the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, is something still more remarkable. When *Cambyses* Herodot. resolv'd upon a War with these last, the *Phœnicians*, L. 3. c. 17, who form'd the Strength of his Naval Army, told¹⁹ him plainly that they cou'd not serve him against their Countrymen; and this Declaration oblig'd him to desist. The *Carthaginians* on their Side were never forgetful of the Place from whence they came, and drew their Origin. They sent regularly every Polyb. Year to *Tyrus*, a Ship loaden with Presents as a Legation. Quit-rent or Acknowledgment paid to their ancient¹¹⁴ Country; and her tutelur Gods had an annual Sa- Q. Curt. L. 4 c. 2, 3. crifice offer'd to them by *Carthage* as to her own Protectors. The first Fruits of their Revenues were never neglected to be sent, nor the *Tithe* of the Spoils and Booty taken from their Enemies, as Offerings to *Hercules*, one of the principal Gods of *Tyrus* and *Carthage*. The *Tyrians*, to secure from *Alexander*, besieging their City, the most dear Parts of themselves, their Wives and Children, sent them to *Carthage*, where, in the Time of a War greatly straitening that City, they were receiv'd and entertain'd with a Kindness and a Generosity, such as might be expected from Parents at once the most

^a The first Scene of the 5th tit in the second Book of his *Miscellanies*, translated into Latin by Pe-

tender and opulent. These constant Marks of a warm and sincere Acknowledgment are more honourable to any Nation than the most extended Conquests, and the most glorious Victories.

SECT. II. The RELIGION of the CARTHAGINIANS.

IT appears from several Passages of the History of *Carthage* that her Generals regarded as an essential indispensable Duty, the beginning and ending all Enterprizes with the Worship of the Gods. *Amilcar*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, before he entered *Spain* as an Enemy, was careful to sacrifice to the Gods; and his Son, treading in his Steps, before he left *Spain* to march against *Rome*, repair'd to *Cadiz* to pay his Vows made to *Hercules*, and make new ones, if that God was propitious to him. After the Battle of *Cannæ*, when he acquainted *Carthage* with the joyful News, he recommended above all things a Thanksgiving to the Gods for the Victories granted by them to his Arms ^b.

NOR was a religious honouring of the Deity the Ambition of private Persons only; it was the Genius and Humour of the whole Nation.

POLYBIUS has transmitted to us a Treaty of Peace between *Philip* King of *Macedon* and the *Carthaginians*, wherein the Respect of the latter for the Deity, their intimate Persuasion of the Gods assisting and presiding over human Actions, and particularly solemn Treaties made in their Name, Sight and Presence, are sensibly display'd. There we find mention'd five or six different Orders of Divinities; and this Enumeration appears very extraordinary in a publick Act, such as is a Treaty of Peace between two Empires. I shall give my Reader the very

^b Pro his tantis totque victoriis libus agi haberique. Liv. l. 23. verum esse grates Diis immorta- n. 11.

Words of the Historian, which may help us to some Idea of the *Carthaginian Theology*: *This Treaty is concluded in the Presence of Jupiter, Juno and Apollo, in the Presence of the Demon or Genius (δαιμόνιον) of the Carthaginians, of Hercules and Iolaus, in the Presence of Mars, Triton and Neptune, in the Presence of all the Confederate Gods of the Carthaginians, and of the Sun, the Moon, and the Earth; in the Presence of the Rivers, Meadows and Waters; in the Presence of all those Gods who are Patrons of Carthage*: What should we now say to such an Act with the Guardian Angels and Saints of a Kingdom inserted in the Body of it?

THE *Carthaginians* had two Divinities, whom they particularly ador'd; and who ought to have some Notice taken of them here.

THE first was the Goddess *Cœlestis*, called likewise *Urania* or the Moon, who was invoked in signal Distress, above all in Droughts for the Blessing of Rain: *That very Virgin Cœlestis* ^a, says *Tertullian*, *the Promiser of Rain*. In speaking of this Goddess and of *Esculapius*, *Tertullian* makes a Challenge to the *Pagans*, bold indeed but glorious to the Cause of Christianity, in which he declares, that the first Appearance of a Christian shall oblige these false Gods to confess themselves to be no more than Devils, and offers the Christian a Sacrifice to his Presumption, if he forces not this Confession from the Mouth of these Gods ^b. *St. Austin* likewise makes frequent ^{In Psalm.} mention of this Divinity. *What is now*, says he, *be-98.* *come of Cœlestis, whose Empire was once so great and uncontrolled in Carthage?* It was doubtless the same Deity, who is called by *Jeremiah* the *Queen of c. 7. 18.* *Heaven*, and was held in so much Reverence by the *and c. 44.* *17, 25.*

^a *Ista ipsa Virgo Cœlestis pluviarum pollicitatrix. Apolog. c. 23.*

^b *Nisi se dæmones confessi fuerint Christiano mentiri non*

audentes, ibidem illius Christiani procacissimi sanguinem fundite.

Jewish Women, that they address'd their Vows, burnt Incense, pour'd out Drink-Offerings to her, and made her Cakes with their own Hands; from her they boasted to receive all manner of good, while they continued firm to her Worship; whereas when they fail'd in that, they saw themselves plung'd into every Misfortune.

THE second Divinity which had a particular Adoration from the *Carthaginians*, and was worshipp'd with human Sacrifices, was *Saturn*, known in Scripture under the Name of *Moloch*, and this Worship pass'd from *Tyrus* to *Carthage*. *Philo* quotes a Passage from *Sanchoiathon*, which evinces that the Kings of *Tyrus* in pressing Calamities sacrificed their Sons to appease the Anger of the Gods, and that one of them by the Action procur'd himself divine Honours, and was worshipp'd under the Name of the Planet *Saturn*: To this doubtless was owing the Fable of *Saturn* devouring his own Children. Private Persons, when they were desirous to avert any great Calamities, took the same Method, and with their Princes carried their Superstition to that Height, that the Childless purchas'd Children from the Poor, not to be depriv'd of the Merit of such a Sacrifice. This Custom prevailed long amongst the *Phenicians* and *Canaanites*, from whom the *Israelites* receiv'd it, though expressly forbidden by God. At first Children were inhumanly burnt, either in a fierce Flame, like those in the Valley of *Hinnon*, so often spoke of in Scripture, or in a flaming Statue of *Saturn*. The Cries of these unhappy Victims were drown'd by the continued Noise of Drums and Trumpets. Mothers * made it a Merit, and a part of their Religion to assist at this barbarous Spectacle

ut. de
perst.

* Παρσιώνει δὲ ἡ μήτηρ ἀπειλήσῃ ἢ ἀσέβησῃ, &c. The cruel and pitiless Mother stood by an unconcerned Spectator; a Groan or a Tear falling from her would have been punished with a Fine, the Child nevertheless must have been sacrificed. Plut. de Superstitione.

with

with dry Eyes, and even without a Groan; and if a Tear or a Sigh stole from them, the Sacrifice was less acceptable to the Divinity, and all the Fruit of it was entirely lost. This Firmness of their Minds, ^{Tertull. in} or rather savage Barbarity, was push'd to such Ex-^{Apolog.}cess, that Mothers even with Embraces and Kisses ² endeavour'd to hush the Cries of their Children, that a Victim offer'd with an unbecoming Grace, and in the midst of Tears, might not displease the God. ^{Minut.} Afterwards they contented themselves with making ^{Felix.} their Children pass through the Fire, in which nevertheless they frequently perish'd, as is clear from several Passages of Scripture.

THE *Carthaginians* retain'd the barbarous Custom of offering human Sacrifices to their Gods, down to the Ruin of their City ^b: An Action which better deserved to be called a Sacrilege than a Sacrifice, ^{Q. Curt.} It was suspended only for some Years, in fear of the ^{4. c3.} Anger and Arms of *Darius I*, King of *Persia*, who forbade them human Sacrifices, and the eating the ^{Plut. de} Flesh of Dogs: But they soon return'd to their Ge-^{sera.}
^{vindic.}
^{decorum,}

^a Blanditiis & osculis com-
primebant vagitum, ne flebilis
hostia immolaretur.

^b It appears from Tertullian's
Apology, that this barbarous Cust-
tom prevailed in Africk long af-
ter the Ruin of Carthage. In-
fantes penes Africam Saturno
immolabantur palam usque ad
Proconsulatum Tiberii, qui eod-
dem sacerdotes in eisdem arbor-
ibus templi sui obumbratrici-
bus scelerum votivis crucibus
exposuit, teste militia patriæ
nostræ, quæ id ipsum munus
illi Proconsuli functa est, i. e.
Children were publicly sacrificed
to Saturn down to the Proconsul-
ship of Tiberius, who hanged
the very sacrificing Priests on the
Trees which shaded their Temple,

as on so many Crosses devoted to
expiate their Crimes, of which
the Militia of our Country are
Witnesses, who performed this Of-
fice at the Command of this Pro-
consul. Tertul. Apolog. c. 9.
Two learned Men are at Variance
about the Proconsul, and the
Time of his Government. Sal-
masius confesses his Ignorance of
both, but rejects the Authority of
Scaliger, who for Proconsula-
tum reads Proconsulem Tiberii,
and thinks Tertullian, when he
writ his Apology, had forgot his
Name. However this be, it is
certain that the Memory of the
Fact, here delivered by Tertullian,
was then recent, and probably the
Witnesses of it had not been long
dead.

nus, as is plain from this, that in the Time of *Xerxes*, Successor to *Darius*, *Gelon* Tyrant of *Syracuse*, on a considerable Victory obtain'd over the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, had it inserted in the Peace he gave them, *That no more human Sacrifices should be offer'd to Saturn*. And doubtless, the Behaviour of the *Carthaginians* in the very Time of the Action gave occasion to this Precaution of *Gelon*. For

Herodot.
L. 7. c. 167.

during the whole Engagement, which lasted from Morning till Night, *Amilcar*, the Son of *Hanno* their General, plied the Gods with Sacrifices of living Men, thrown upon a flaming Pile; and seeing his Troops routed and put to Flight, he threw himself upon the Pile, not to survive his own Disgrace, and to extinguish, says *St. Ambrose* speaking of this Action, with his own Blood this sacrilegious Fire, which he saw had prov'd of no Service to him^a.

IN a Pestilence^b they sacrificed a great Number of Children to their Gods, with no Compassion for an Age which moves the Pity of the most cruel Enemies, thus seeking a Remedy for their Evils in Crime it self, and endeavouring to reconcile the Gods by the worst Barbarity.

L. 20.

DIODORUS relates an Instance of this Cruelty which gives one Horror. At the Time that *Agathocles* was upon the Point of besieging *Carthage*, its Inhabitants, seeing the Extremity to which they were reduced, charg'd all their Misfortune upon the just Anger of *Saturn* against them, because, instead of Children nobly born, and customarily sacrific'd to him, he had been put off with the Children of Slaves

^a In ipsos quos adolebat sese precipitavit ignes, ut eos vel cruore suo extingueret, quos sibi nihil profuisse cognoverat.

^b Cum peste laborarent cruenta sacrorum religione & scelere pro remedio usi sunt. Quippe homines ut victimas immobilabant & impuberes (quæ ætas

etiam hostium misericordiam provocat) aris admovebant, pacem decorum sanguine eorum exposcentes, pro quorum vitæ dii maxime rogari solent. *Justin.* l. 18. c. 6. Both Gauls and Germans were guilty of the sacrificing Men by the Testimony of *Dionysius* and *Tacitus*.

and

and Strangers fraudulently substituted in their Room. In Amends for this Fault two hundred Children of the best Houses of *Carthage* fell in Sacrifice to *Saturn*; and besides this, more than three hundred Citizens, in a Sense of their Guilt in this pretended Crime, made willing Sacrifices of themselves. *Diodorus* adds, that *Saturn* had a Statue of Brass with his Hands inclining downwards, so that the Child put into them, dropp'd into an Opening below, in which was a burning Furnace.

Is this, says *Plutarch*, Worshipping the Gods? De Super-
 Is this the honourable Idea we have of them, to super-^{stitione.}
 pose that they are pleas'd with Slaughter, thirsty of
 Blood, and capable of desiring or accepting such
 Offerings? Religion, says this sensible Author, is Idem in
 plac'd between two Rocks equally dangerous to Man, ^{Camillo.}
 namely, *Impiety* and *Superstition*. The one, in an Af-
 fection of superior Knowledge, believes nothing;
 the other, by a blind Weakness, believes every thing.
Impiety, to free it self from the Yoke of a Fear which
 secretly galls it, denies the very Existence of the
 Gods: *Superstition* likewise, to calm its Fears, for-
 ges Gods at Pleasure, not only Friends, but Pro-
 tectors and Patterns of Crime. Had it not been bet-^{De super-}
 ter, says he again, for *Carthage* to have had a ^{stitione.} *Dia-*
goras, a *Critias*, open and undisguis'd Atheists, for
 her Law-givers, than to have adopted a Religion so
 mad and extravagant? Cou'd the Typhons, the
 Giants, the Gods declar'd Enemies, by a Victory
 over Heaven, have establish'd any Sacrifices more
 abominable than these?

THESE were a Pagan's Sentiments of the *Cartha-*
ginian Worship such as we have related it. Indeed,
 one would not believe Mankind capable of this exces-
 sive Madness and Phrenzy. Men have not generally
 within themselves a Stock of so universal a Subversi-
 on and Destruction of every Thing Nature holds most
 sacred; as to sacrifice, to cut our Children's Throats
 with our own Hands, and in cold Blood throw them
 into

into burning Furnaces! Sentiments so unnatural, so barbarous, and yet adopted by whole Nations, and those too govern'd by the finest Policy; by the *Phenicians*, the *Carthaginians*, the *Gauls*, the *Scythians*, the very *Greeks* and *Romans*; and consecrated by the Practice of successive Ages, can have been only inspired by him who was Murderer from the beginning, and is only pleas'd with the Degradation, Misery, and Ruin of Man.

SECT. III. Form of the Government of CARTHAGE.

THE Government of *Carthage* was founded upon Principles of great Wisdom, and *Aristotle* with Reason places this Republick in the Number of those of the first Esteem amongst the Antients, and fit to be a Model and a Pattern for others. He builds his Sentiment upon a Reflection which does Honour to *Carthage*, by remarking that down to his Time from its Foundation, a Space of more than five hundred Years, no considerable Sedition had disturb'd the Peace, nor any Tyrant oppress'd the Liberty of *Carthage*. Indeed mix'd Governments, such as was that of *Carthage*, where the Power was divided betwixt the Nobles and the People, are subject to two Inconveniencies, either of degenerating into an Abuse of Liberty by Seditions of the Rabble, as was often the Fate of *Athens* and all the *Grecian* Republicks, or into the Oppression of the publick Liberty by the Tyranny of the Nobles, as befel *Athens*, *Syracuse*, *Corinth*, *Thebes*, *Rome* itself in the Time of *Sylla* and *Cæsar*. It is therefore a noble Elogy of *Carthage*, that she knew by the Wisdom of her Laws, and the happy Union of her Parties, how to preserve herself, for so long a Succession of Years, from splitting upon two Rocks, so dangerous, and withal so common.

IT might be wish'd that some ancient Author had left us an exact and continued Treatise of the Customs and Laws of this famous Republick. For want of such Assistance, we can only give our Reader a confus'd and impartial Idea thereof, by collecting the several Passages that lie scatter'd up and down in Authors.

THE Government of *Carthage* united, like that of *Sparta* and *Rome*, three different Authorities, which balanc'd and mutually assisted, one another. These Authorities, were that of the two supreme Magistrates call'd *Suffetes*^a; that of the Senate; and that of the People. Afterwards was added the Tribunal of *One Hundred*, which had a great Influence in the Republick.

The SUFFETES.

THE Power of the *Suffetes* was only annual, and in *Carthage* answer'd to the Authority of the Consuls at *Rome*^b. In Authors they are frequently call'd Kings, Dictators, Consuls, because they sustain'd the Dignity of all three. History leaves us in the Dark as to the Manner of their Election. They had a Power committed to them of assembling the Senate^c in which they presid'd, propos'd Affairs, and collected the Suffrages; ^d they presid'd likewise in all emergent Debates. Their Authority was not shut up within the City; nor confin'd to Civil Affairs; They had sometimes the Command of the

^a This Name is deriv'd from a Word which with the Hebrews and Phenicians signifies Judges. Shophetim.

^b Ut Romæ Consules sic Carthagine quotannis annui bini Reges creabantur. Nepos in vita Annibalis, *The great Annibal*

once sustain'd the Office of one of the *Suffetes*.

^c Senatum itaque *Suffetes*, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat, vocaverunt. Liv. l. 30. n. 7.

^d Cum *Suffetes* ad jus dicendum consedissent. Id. l. 34. n. 61.

Armies. It appears that in laying down the Dignity of *Suffetes*, they had the Name of Prætors, an Office of Consideration, as it gave them a Right of presiding in some Causes; and not only so, but a Power of proposing and enacting new Laws, and of calling to Account the Receivers of the Publick Revenues, as is seen in what *Livy* relates of *Hannibal* on this Subject, and which will be afterwards remembered.

L. 33. n.
46, 47.

The S E N A T E.

THE Senate, compos'd of Persons venerable by their Years, their Experience, their Birth, their Riches, and above all by their Merit, form'd the Council of State, and were, as one may say, the Soul of the publick Deliberations. Their Number is not precisely known: It must however have been very large, since a hundred were taken out of it to form a separate Assembly, of which I shall immediately have occasion to speak. In the Senate all Affairs of Consequence were treated, Letters from Generals were read, the Complaints of Provinces were heard, Ambassadors were receiv'd to Audience, and Peace or War was decreed, as is seen on many Occasions.

WHEN the Sentiments and Voices were united, then the Senate decided soveraignly, and no Appeal lay from it. When there was a Difference, and the Senate could not come to Agreement, the Affair was brought before the People, on whom the Power of deciding, in such Case, was devolv'd. It is easy to comprehend the Wisdom of this Regulation and its Fitness to crush Cabals, to soften Men's Resentments, to support and give a Pre-eminence to good Counsels; such an Assembly being extremely jealous of its Authority, and not easily brought to let it pass into other Hands. A memorable Instance of this is seen in *Polybius*. When upon the Loss of

the

L. 15. p.
983. Edit.
Gronov.

the Battle, fought in *Africk* in the Conclusion of the second *Punic* War, the Conditions of Peace, offer'd by the Victor, were read in the Senate, *Hannibal*, observing the Opposition of one Senator, represented in the most lively manner, that the Safety of the Republick lying at stake, the Union of the Senate was of the last Importance to prevent such a Debate from coming before the People; and he carried his Point. This doubtless laid the Foundation of the Senate's Power and great Authority in the Beginnings of that Republick: And the same Author remarks in another place, that whilst the Senate continued Master of Affairs, the State was governed with great Wisdom, and successful in all its Undertakings.

The P E O P L E.

IT appears from every thing hitherto said, that so low as the Time of *Aristotle*, who gives us so fine a Draught, so magnificent an Elogy of the Government of *Carthage*, the People willingly reposed the publick Care in the Senate, and left to it the chief Administration: And this it was, which gave such Power to the Republick. It was not so afterwards: The People, insolent by a Flow of Riches and Conquests, and forgetting that these Blessings were owing to the prudent Conduct of the Senate, were for having share in the Government, and arrogated to themselves almost the whole Power. Publick Affairs from this Time were wholly managed by Cabals and Factions, and *Polybius* assigns this as one principal Cause of the Ruin of the State.

The TRIBUNAL of the HUNDRED.

THEY were a Society compos'd of a Hundred and four Persons; tho' often for brevity they are only called the *Hundred*. They were, according to *Aristotle*,

Aristotle, at *Carthage*, what the *Ephori* were at *Sparta*. From which it appears, that they were instituted to balance the Power of the Nobles and Senate: But with this Difference betwixt them and the *Ephori*, that the latter were only five in number, and annually elected, whereas these were perpetual, and exceeded a hundred in number. It is believ'd that these *Centumvirs* are the same with the hundred Judges mention'd by *Justin*, who were drawn out of the Senate, and created to bring the Generals to account for their Conduct. The exorbitant Power of *Mago's* Family, which had engross'd the first Employ's of the State and the Army, and render'd itself Master of all Affairs, gave Rise to this Establishment. It was intended to curb the Authority of the Generals, which, while Armies were in the Field, was almost boundless and absolute; but by this Institution it became subject to the Laws by a Necessity thus impos'd upon the Generals. of rendering an Account of their Actions before these Judges on their Return from the Campaign, *Ut hoc metu ita in bello imperia cogitarent, ut domi Judicia Legesque respicerent*. Of these Hundred Judges Five had a particular and superior Jurisdiction to the rest: It is not known how long their Authority lasted. This Council of Five resembled the Council of Ten in the *Venetian* Senate. A Vacancy in their Number could only be fill'd up by themselves. They had likewise a Power of choosing those who compos'd the Council of the Hundred. An Authority so great made the Electors careful to put in none but Persons of uncommon Merit: Nor was it thought proper to annex any Salary or Reward to the Office, the single Motive of the publick Good being thought a Tie sufficient to engage honest Men to a conscientious and faithful Discharge of their Duty. *Polybius*, in his Account of the taking of *New Carthage* by *Scipio*, distinguishes clearly two Orders of

L. 19. c. 2.
A. M.
3609.
487th
Year of
Carthage.

Justin.
loco cita-
to.

L. 10. p.
824. Edit.
Gronov.

Magistrates

Magistrates establish'd in *Old Carthage*; for he says that amongst the Prisoners taken at the *New* were two Magistrates of the Body of the *Old Men* [ἐν τῆς Γερουσίας] so he calls the Council of the *Hundred*; and fifteen of the Senate [ἐν τῆς Συγκλήτης.] *Livy* mentions only the fifteen Senators, but in another place he names the *Old Men*, and observes that they were the most venerable Council which belong'd to the State, and had a great Authority in the Senate P.

ESTABLISHMENTS, constituted with the greatest Wisdom, and the justest Harmony of Parts, degenerate insensibly into Disorder and the most destructive Licence. Those Judges, who in a lawful Execution of their Power were a Terror to Transgressors, and the great Pillars of Justice, abusing so boundless a Power, became so many Tyrants and Oppressors of Liberty. We shall see this verify'd in the History of the great *Hannibal*, who, during his Pretorship, after his Return to *Africk*, employ'd all his Credit to reform so crying an Abuse, and made an Authority, which was perpetual before, become annual, about two hundred Years after its Institution.

L.26.n.51.
L.30.n.16.
A. M.
3802.
Tears of
Carthage
682.

Carthaginienfes . . . Oratores ad pacem potendam mittunt triginta seniorum principes. Id erat sanctius apud illos concilium, maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis. Mr. Rollin might have taken notice of Civil Officers established at Carthage, with a Power, like that of the Censors at Rome, to inspect the Manners of the Citizens. By the chief of these Officers, Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, had a beautiful

son nam'd Asdrubal, taken from him, upon a Report that Hamilcar was more familiar with this Youth than was consistent with Modesty. Erat præterea cum eo [Amilcare] adolescens illustris & formosus Hasdrubal, quem nonnulli diligi turpius, quam patris erat ab Amilcare, loquebantur . . . Quo factum est ut a Præfetto morum Hasdrubal cum eo vetaretur esse. Corn. Nep. in Vita Amilcaris.

DEFECTS in the GOVERNMENT of CARTHAGE.

ARISTOTLE, amongst other Reflections made by him upon the Government of *Carthage*, remarks two great Defects very contrary, in his Opinion, to the Views of a wise Law-giver, and the Rules of sound Policy.

THE first of these Defects was the investing the same Persons with different Charges, which was consider'd at *Carthage* as a Proof of an uncommon Merit. *Aristotle* is of Opinion that this Practice was prejudicial to the Community. For, says he, a Man possess'd of only one Employ is a great deal more capable to acquit himself well in the Execution of it, as Affairs are examin'd with greater Care; and gone through with readier Dispatch. It is never seen, continues he, either by Land or Sea, that the same Officer commands two different Bodies, or the same Pilot steers two Ships. Besides, the Good of the State requires that Places and Favours shou'd be shar'd among many, in order to excite an Emulation among Men of Merit: Whereas Places heap'd upon the same Subject, too often dazle him by so distinguish'd a Preference, and raise in others Jealousie, Heart-burnings, and Murmurs.

Jealousie THE second Defect remark'd by *Aristotle* in the Government of *Carthage*, was, that to arrive at the first Posts, such an Estate was requir'd besides Merit and Birth; by this Means, Poverty was thrown as an invincible Obstacle in the Way of the most shining Merit unadorn'd with Wealth, which he thought was a great Evil in the Constitution. For in this Case, says he, Virtue being no Recommendation, and Money, by its Power to advance Men, carrying all before it, the Esteem which Riches are in, and a consequent Thirst of them, seize and corrupt the Minds of a whole Community; add to
this

this, that Magistrates and Judges rising by Expence, seem to have a Right of reimbursing themselves out of their Employes.

THERE is not, I believe, any Instance in Antiquity to shew that Employes either in the State or Courts of Justice were made venal. The Expence therefore, which *Aristotle* talks of to raise Men to Posts at *Carthage*, must be understood of Presents which were employ'd to procure the Suffrages of the Electors, a Practice, as *Polybius* observes, very common at *Carthage*, where no sort of Gain was unreputable ^P. It is therefore no wonder that *Aristotle* condemns a Practice where Consequences, it was easy to see, might prove fatal to the Commonwealth.

BUT if he pretended that the Posts of Command and Honour ought to be equally accessible to the Rich and the Poor, as he seems to insinuate, his Sentiment is refuted by the general Practice of the wisest Republicks: Whose Opinion it has ever been, without any degrading Reflexions upon Poverty, that here the Preference ought to be given to Riches, because it is to be presum'd that a better Education fills Men with nobler Views, and places them more out of the Reach of Corruption and unworthy Actions; and that the Situation of their Affairs unites them more closely to the State for the Maintenance of Peace and Order, and the keeping at the greatest Distance from it, all Sedition and Rebellion.

ARISTOTLE, in the Conclusion of his Reflections upon the Republick of *Carthage*, is much pleas'd with a Custom in it of sending from Time to Time Colonies into different Parts, and thus procuring to its Citizens an honest Establishment. This Custom provided a Supply to the Necessities of the Poor, who are equally with the Rich, the Members of the State; and it discharg'd the City of Multi-

^P Παρά Καρχηδονίους πρὸς κέρδος ἔδην ἀισχρὸν τῶν ἀνηκόντων.

tudes of idle, lazy People which were its Disgrace, and often prov'd dangerous to it: It prevented Com-motions and Troubles by a Removal of these Per-sons who are commonly the Occasion of them, and who, uneasy under present Circumstances, are always ripe for Disturbance and Innovation.

SECT. IV. *The* COMMERCE of CAR-THAGE *the first Source of its Wealth and Power.*

COMMERCE was, properly speaking, the Business of *Carthage*, the particular Object of its Industry, and its peculiar and predominant Character. It was the greatest Strength and the principal Support of that Commonwealth. In one word, it may be said that the Power, the Conquests, the Credit, the Glory of the *Carthaginians* flow'd from Commerce. Situated in the Centre of the *Mediterranean*, and stretching their Arms Eastward and Westward, they embrac'd, in the Extent of their Commerce, the whole known World, and carry'd it to the Coasts of *Spain*, of *Mauritania*, of *Gaul*, and beyond the Straits and Pillars of *Hercules*. They went every where to buy cheap the Superfluities of other Nations, which the Wants of others convert-ed into Necessaries, and oblig'd them to purchase at the dearest Rates. From *Egypt* the *Carthaginians* fetch'd fine Linnen, Paper, Corn, Sails and Cables for Ships: From the Coasts of the *Red Sea*, Spices, Frankincense, Groceries, Perfumes, Gold, Pearls and precious Stones: From *Tyrus* and *Phenicia*, Purple and Scarlet, rich Stuffs, Tapestry, costly Furni-ture, and divers Works of most curious and artful Industry: In one word, they brought from different Countries every thing necessary or capable to con-tribute to Ease, Luxury and the Delights of Life. They brought back from the Western Parts, in Exchange for Commodities carry'd thither, Iron, Tin,

Tin, Lead and Copper: The Sale of all these Merchandizes enrich'd them at the Expence of all Nations, which they put under a sort of Contribution so much the surer, as it was the more voluntary.

IN thus becoming the Factors and Agents of all Nations, they made themselves Lords of the Sea, the Band which held East, West, and South together, and the necessary Canal of their Communication; so that *Carthage* rose to be the common City of all the Nations which the Sea supported, and the Centre of their Commerce.

THE most considerable Persons of the City were not ashamed of Traffick. They apply'd to it with a Care equal to that of the meanest Citizens, and their great Wealth made them not at all less in love with Diligence, Patience and Labour necessary to procure Accessions to it. To this was owing their Empire of the Sea, the Splendor of their Republick, their Ability to dispute it with *Rome* herself, and an Elevation of Power which cost the *Romans* a bloody and doubtful War of more than forty Year's Continuance to humble and subdue this haughty Rival. And even *Rome* triumphant thought *Carthage* was not to be entirely reduc'd any other Way than by depriving her of the Benefit of her Trade, which had so long enabled her to hold out against all the Strength of that mighty Republick.

AFTER all, it is no wonder that *Carthage*, coming out of the greatest School of Traffick in the World, I mean *Tyrus*, shou'd have been crown'd with such rapid and constant Success. The very Vessels which conducted her Founders into *Africk*, serv'd them afterwards for the Convenience of Trade. They began Settlements upon the Coasts of *Spain*, in Ports open to their Disembarkation. The Conveniences and Facility of their first Settlements inspir'd them with the Thought of conquering these vast Regions; and in the End, *New Carthage*, or
K 2
Carthagena,

Carthage, gave them in that Country an Empire almost equal to that enjoy'd by *Old Carthage* in *Africk*.

SECT. V. *The Mines of Spain the second Source of the Riches and Power of*
CARTHAGE.

L. 4.

DIODORUS with Reason remarks that the Gold and Silver Mines found by the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, were an inexhaustible Fund of Riches which enabled them to sustain such long Wars against the *Romans*. The Natives had long been ignorant of these Treasures hid in the Bosom of the Earth. The *Phenicians* made the first Discovery, and, by an Exchange of some Wares of little Value for this precious Metal, they amass'd infinite Wealth. The *Carthaginians* knew how to profit from their Example when they became Masters of the Country, and the *Romans* afterwards when they had wrested it from them.

Ibid.

THE Labour to come at these Mines, and to draw from thence their Gold and Silver, was incredible. For the Veins of these Metals rarely rose to the Surface: They were to be sought and pursu'd down through hideous Depths, where frequently Inundations of Water stopp'd at once the Labour, and seem'd to have defeated all future Pursuits. But *Avarice* is not less patient to undergo Fatigues than ingenious at finding Expedients. By Pumps of *Archimedes's* Invention in his Travels to *Egypt*, they threw up the Water out of these Pits, and left them dry. Infinite Numbers of Slaves perish'd in these Mines to enrich their Masters, who treated them with the last Barbarity, forc'd them to Labour with Blows, and gave them no Respite by Day or Night. *Polybius*, as quoted by *Strabo*, says that in his Time more than forty thousand Men were employ'd in the Mines near *Carthage*, and furnish'd the *Roman* People every Day with

L. 3.

with eight hundred fifty nine Pounds, seven Shillings and six Pence ⁹.

ONE ought not to be surpriz'd to see the *Carthaginians*, after the greatest Defeats, sending fresh and numerous Armies again into the Field, equipping mighty Fleets, and supporting for a Succession of Years, distant Wars with prodigious Expence. But it must seem very strange to find the *Romans* doing the same with very small Revenues, before their Conquest of the most powerful Nations; with no Help from Trade, to which they were absolute Strangers; with no Gold or Silver Mines in a Country, where, if any, they were very rare, and consequently, must by the Expence of working them have swallow'd up all the Profit. They found in the Frugality and Simplicity of their Lives; in their Zeal for the Publick; and the Affection of the People for their Country; Funds not less ready or certain than those of *Carthage*, and far more honourable to the Nation.

SECT. VI. *WAR.*

C*ARTHAGE* is to be consider'd as both a trading and a warlike Republick. Her Inclination and Constitution led her to Traffick; and the Necessity first of defending her Subjects against her Neighbours, and next a Desire of extending her Commerce and Empire, led her to War. This double Idea gives us, in my Opinion, the true Plan and Character of this Republick. We have spoke of her Commerce.

THE military Power of *Carthage* lay in her Alliances with Kings, in Tributary Nations from which she drew a *Militia* and impos'd Contributions in Money, in Troops form'd out of her own Citizens, and mercenary Soldiers purchas'd of neigh-

⁹ 25000 Drachms — An *As*. *ney*, consequently 25000 = 859 *l*.
tick Drachms, according to Dr. 7 s. 6 d.
Bernard = 8 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ English Mo-

bouring States, ready form'd and of approv'd Merit and Reputation, without any Pains of her own either to levy or discipline them. She drew from *Numidia* her light Horſe, a Cavalry bold, impetuous, indefatigable, and the principal Strength of her Armies; from the *Balearian* Iſles, the beſt Slingers in the Univerſe; from *Spain*, an Infantry firm and invincible; from the Coaſts of *Genoa* and *Gaul*, Troops of known Valour; and from *Greece* herſelf, Soldiers fit for all Operations of War, proper for Field or Garrifon, and who could either beſiege Cities or defend them.

THUS ſhe ſent out at once powerful Armies, compos'd of Troops ſelect'd from diſtant Nations, without unpeopling her Fields or her Cities by new Levies; without ſuſpending her Manufactures or diſturbſing the peaceable Artifaſn; without interrupting her Commerce and weakening her Marines. By venal Blood ſhe acquir'd Provinces and Kingdoms, and made other Nations the Inſtruments of her Grandeur and Glory with no other Expenſe of her own but her Money, and even this furniſhed from her Traffick with foreign Nations.

IF in the Courſe of War ſhe receiv'd any Loſs, this was only grazing the Skin without any Stab in the Entrails or Heart of the Commonwealth. Theſe Loſſes were ſpeedily repair'd by Sums ariſing out of a flouriſhing Commerce as from a perpetual Si-new of War, by which the State was furniſhed with new Supplies for the Purchaſe of mercenary Forces: And from the extended Coaſts, of which *Carthage* was in poſſeſſion, it was eaſy for her in a very little time to raiſe Sailors and Rowers neceſſary for the working and Service of her Fleet, and to find able Pilots and experienced Captains to conduct it.

BUT all theſe Parts fortuitouſly brought together, did not hold by any Tie natural, intimate or neceſſary. No common, no reciprocal Intereſt united

ted them into a Body solid and unalterable. No Person of these mercenary Armies was sincerely affectionate to the Prosperity of the State. They did not act with the same Zeal, nor expose themselves to Dangers with equal Resolution for a Republick which they regarded as strange, and consequently indifferent to them, as they would have done for their own Country, whose Happiness is that of every individual Member of it.

IN great Reverses of Fortune the Kings in Alliance with *Carthage* might easily be separated from her Interest, either by a Jealousy which the Grandeur of a more potent Neighbour naturally gives, or by the Hopes of greater Advantages from a new Friend, or the Fear of being involv'd in the Misfortunes of an old Allie*.

THE tributary People, impatient under the Weight and Disgrace of a Yoke forced upon their Necks, flatter'd themselves with the Hope of finding one less galling in the Change of Masters; or, if Servitude was unavoidable, the Choice was indifferent to them, as numbers of Instances in the Sequel of this History will assure us.

THE mercenary Forces, accusom'd to measure their Fidelity by the Largeness or Continuance of their Wages, were always ready on the least Discontent, or the slightest Expectations of more Pay, to go over to the Enemy whom they lately fought, and turn their Arms against their late Masters.

THUS the Grandeur of *Carthage*, sustain'd by foreign Supports, saw itself shaken to the Foundation when they were once taken away. And if to this was added an Interruption of her Commerce, by which she subsisted, through the Loss of a Battle at Sea, she believ'd her Ruin was at hand, and gave herself over to Despondency and Despair, as

* Of which Syphax and Masinissa are Instances.

was evidently seen at the Conclusion of the first *Punic* War.

ARISTOTLE, in the Book where he shews the Advantages and Defects of the Government of *Carthage*, finds no fault with her entertaining foreign Forces; it is therefore probable that she fell not into this Practice till a long time after. Rebellions, which harrass'd her in her later Years, ought to have taught her that no Miseries are equal to those of a State which is only supported by Foreigners, from whom neither Zeal, Security nor Obedience are to be expected.

THIS was not the Case of the *Roman* Republick. As she had neither Trade nor Money, she was unable to hire Forces to push her Conquests with the Rapidity of *Carthage*: But then, as she drew every thing from her self, and as all the Parts of the State were closely united, she had surer Refuges in her great Misfortunes than *Carthage* had in hers. And therefore she never dream'd of suing for Peace after the Battle of *Canne*, as *Carthage* had done in a less pressing Necessity.

CARTHAGE had besides a Body of Troops form'd out of her own Citizens, but not very numerous; and was a sort of School in which the chief Nobility, and those whose Minds were elevated, and who had Talents and Ambition to aspire to the first Dignities, serv'd their Apprenticeship in the Profession of War. From their Body were taken all the General Officers, who were put at the Head of their different Forces, and had the principal Authority in the Army. This Nation was too jealous, too suspicious to employ foreign Captains. But she carried not her Distrust of her Citizens so far as *Rome* and *Athens*; she invested them with large Authority, but took no Security against the Abuse which they might make of it to the Ruin of her own Liberty. The Command of Armies was neither annual, nor limited to any Time,

as in the two other Republicks. Many Generals preserv'd their Commissions through a long Succession of Years, to the Conclusion of a War or even of their own Lives, tho' they remain'd still accountable to the Commonwealth for their Conduct, and liable to be recalled when a real Oversight, a Misfortune, or the superior Interest of a Cabal furnished an Occasion.

SECT. VII. ARTS and SCIENCES.

IT cannot be said that *Carthage* entirely renounced the Glory which flows from Study and Knowledge. *Masivissa*, Son of a powerful King*, sent thither for Instruction and Education, gives us room to believe that *Carthage* was not without a School for so excellent a Purpose. The great *Hannibal*, who was in all respects an Ornament to her, was by no means unacquainted with polite Learning, as will be seen hereafter. *Mago*, another celebrated General, did no less Honour to *Carthage* by his Pen than his Victories. He wrote twenty-eight Volumes upon Agriculture, of which the Roman Senate had such Esteem, that after the taking of *Carthage*, when they presented the African Princes with the Libraries founded there (another Instance that Learning was not entirely banished from *Carthage*) they gave Order to have these Books translated into Latin, tho' *Cato* had before furnish'd them with Books on that Subject. We have yet remaining a Greek Version of a Treatise drawn up by *Hanno* in the Punic Tongue, relating to a Voyage made by him with a considerable Fleet round *Africk* for the settling of Colonies, by an Order

* King of the Maffylians in Africk.

† These Books were writ by *Mago* in the Punic Language,

and translated into Greek by *Cassius Dionysius* of *Utica*, from whose Version 'tis probable the Latin was made.

from

from the Senate. This *Hanno* is believ'd to be more ancient than him who liv'd in the Time of *Agasthocles*.

I MIGHT place in the Number, or rather at the Head of these who have adorn'd *Africk* with their Writings, the celebrated *Terence*; himself singly capable to bring infinite Honour to his Country by the Reputation of his Writings, if, on this Account, *Carthage* where he was born ought not to be less esteem'd his Country, than *Rome* where he was educated, and from whence he drew that pure Stile, Delicacy and Elegance which have procured him the Admiration of all succeeding Ages. It is supposed that he was brought away an Infant, or at least very young, by the *Numidians* in their Incurfions upon the *Carthaginian* Territories while the War was depending between those two Nations, from the Conclusion of the second to the Beginning of the third *Punick* War. He was sold a Slave to *Terentius Lucanus*, who, after a careful Education bestow'd upon him, made him free, and, as was then the Custom, gave him his own Name. He was join'd in a strict Friendship with *Scipio Africanus* the Second, and *Lelius*, and it was a common Report at *Rome*, that he had the Assistance of these great Men to compose his Pieces. The Poet, far from taking off an Imputation so advantageous to him, made a Merit of it. We have only six of his Comedies remaining. Some Authors, according to *Suetonius*, the Writer of his Life, say that in his Return from *Greece*, whither he had made a Voyage, he lost one hundred and eight Comedies translated from *Menander*, and could not survive an Accident which gave him so sensible an Affliction; but this Particular has no very solid Foundation. However this be, he died in the Year of *Rome* 594, under the Consulship of *Cneius Cornelius Dolabella*, and *M. Fulvius*, aged thirty-five Years, and consequently born 560.

IT is nevertheless undeniable, notwithstanding all that has been said, that learned Men were always scarce at *Carthage*, which, in a Course of more than seven hundred Years, scarce furnished three or four Writers of Reputation. Her Correspondence with *Greece* and so many civiliz'd Nations, gave her no Curiosity to borrow their Learning, which was foreign to the Views of Trade and Commerce. Eloquence, Poetry, History, seem to have ^{had} no great Regard paid them at *Carthage*. A Philosopher from that City was a sort of Prodigy amongst the Learned. What a Figure would an Astronomer or a Geometrician have made? I am ignorant in what Reputation Physick, so advantageous to Life, was at *Carthage*, and the Civil Law so necessary to Society.

IN so general an Indifference for Works of Wit, the Education of Youth must have been very imperfect and unpolite. In *Carthage*, Study and Knowledge amongst the Youth were confin'd, as to the greater Number, to Writing, Arithmetick, Book-keeping and the Knowledge of the Counter; in one Word, to whatever had any Regard to Traffick. Polite Learning, History, Philosophy, were in little Request at *Carthage*. They were in later Years even interdicted by the Laws, which expressly forbid all the *Carthaginians* to learn the *Greek Tongue*, in the fear that it might qualify them for a dangerous Commerce with the Enemy, either by Letters or Conversation ^a.

^a Factum senatusconsultum ne quis postea Carthaginienſis, aut literis Græcis aut sermoni ſtuderet; ne aut loqui cum hoſte, aut ſcibere ſine interprete poſſit. *Juſtin*, l. 20. c. 5. *Juſtin* gives for the Reason of this Law, a traiterous Correspondence between one Suniatus, a powerful Carthaginian, and

Dionysius the Tyrant of Sicily; the former by Letters writ in Greek (which afterwards fell into the Hands of the Carthaginians) having inform'd the Tyrant of the War deſign'd upon him by his Country, in hatred of the General Hanno, to whom he was an Enemy.

WHAT could be expected from such a Taste? Therefore we never meet with that Sweetness of Behaviour, that Facility of Manners, those Sentiments of Virtue in the *Carthaginians*, which are the Fruits of Education in civiliz'd Nations. The small Number of great Men, which this Nation has produc'd, must have receiv'd their Merit from a happy Genius, singular Talents, and long Experience, without any great Assistance from Education and Instruction. From the want of these it was, that the Merit of the greatest Men of *Carthage* was sullied by great Failings, low Vices, and cruel Passions; and it is rare to meet with any Virtue there without some Blemish; with any Virtue noble, generous, amiable, and supported by clear and lasting Principles, such as is every where met with amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

I MEET with as few Monuments of their Ability in Arts less elevated and necessary, as Painting and Sculpture. I find indeed that they had plunder'd a great many Works in both of these from conquer'd Nations; but few, very few of their own are recorded.

FROM what has been said, one cannot help concluding that Commerce was the prevailing Taste, and reigning Character of the Nation; that it was in a manner the Ground-work of the State, the Soul of the Commonwealth, and the great Spring of all its Undertakings. The *Carthaginians* were in general good Merchants, wholly employ'd in Traffick, and push'd forward by the Desire of Gain, passionately in love with Riches, and in the Pursuit of them placing their whole Talents and Glory, without any Thought of their true Destination, or Knowledge how to put them to noble and becoming Uses.

SECT. VIII. CHARACTER, MANNERS *and*
 QUALITIES of the CARTHAGI-
 NIANS.

IN the Catalogue of the different Qualities assign'd by *Cicero*^a to different Nations, as their distinguishing Characters, he makes the prevailing Character of the *Carthaginians* to lie in Craft, Ingenuity, Address, Industry, Cunning; which doubtless was allowable in War, but was diffus'd likewise over their whole Conduct, and was join'd with another Quality very nearly related to it, and still less reputable to them. Craft and Cunning lead naturally to Lying, Knavery, Breach of Faith; and by accustoming the Mind insensibly to less Scruple and Delicacy about the Choice of the Means to compass its Designs, they prepare it for the basest Perfidies. This was likewise one part of the Character of the *Carthaginians*^b, and it was so noted, that to signify any remarkable *Dishonesty*, it was usual to call it *Punic Honour*, *Fides Punica*; and to denote a *Mind fill'd with Deceit*, no Expression was thought more proper and emphatical than to call it a *Carthaginian Mind*, *Punicum Ingenium*.

AN excessive Desire, and an immoderate Love of Gain, were at *Carthage* the ordinary Source of *Unjust* ^{injustitias} and base Actions. One single Example will prove this. In the Time of a Truce, granted to the earnest Prayers of the *Carthaginians* by *Scipio*, some *Roman Vessels*, drove by a Tempest on the Coasts of *Carthage*, were arrested and seiz'd by an Order of

^a *Quam volumus licet ipsi nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, &c. sed pietate ac religione, &c. omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.*
De Arusp. Resp. n. 19.

^b *Carthaginienfes fraudulentis & mendaces . . . multis & variis mercatorum advenarumque sermonibus ad studium fallendi quæstus cupiditate vocabantur,*
Cic. Orat. 2. in Rullum, n. 94.

the Senate and People ^a, who could not suffer so tempting a Prey to escape them. They were resolved to hear it, on any Terms. The Inhabitants of *Carthage*, so low as the Time of *St. Austin*, acknowledged, by the Report of that Father, on a particular Occasion, that they still preserved something of this Character. ^b

Plut. de BUT these were not the only Failings of the *Car-*
ger. Rep. *thaginians*. They had in their Humour and Genius something rough and savage, a haughty and impious Air, a sort of Fierceness which in its first Sal-
perious lies, deaf to Reason and Remonstrance, threw it self brutally into the last Excess and Violence. 'The People, cowardly and servile under Fear, fiery and cruel in their Transports, at the same Time that they trembled under the Awe of their Magistrates, were dreaded in their Turn by their miserable Vassals. Here is seen the Difference of Nations by the Happiness or Want of Education. The *Athenians*, with whom Learning flourish'd as in its Centre, were naturally jealous of their Authority, and difficult to manage ; but a Fund of Generosity and Humanity, owing to Education, render'd them compassionate to the Misfortunes of others, and indulgent to the Errors of their Leaders. *Cleon* one Day desired that the Assembly, in which he presided, might break up, because he had a Sacrifice to offer, and Friends to entertain. The People laugh'd at the Proposal, and immediately separated. Such a Liberty at *Car-*

^a Magistratus senatum vocare, populus in curiæ vestibulo fremere, ne tanta ex oculis manibusque amitteretur præda. Consensum est ut, &c. *Liv.* 30. n. 24.

^b A Jugler had engaged to the Citizens of *Carthage* to tell them their most secret Thoughts, if they would, on a Day appointed,

come to hear him. They met, and the Discovery was, that he told them they were desirous to buy cheap, and sell dear. Every Man's Conscience pleaded guilty to the Charge, and the Jugler was dismiss'd with Applause and Laughter. *Vili vultis emere, & care vendere, &c. S. August.* l. 13. de Trinit. c. 3.

thage,

thage, says *Plutarch*, would have cost a Man his Life.

L I V Y makes a Reflection parallel to this, with Relation to *Terentius Varro*. That General returning to *Rome* after the Battle of *Cannæ*, lost by his ill Conduct, was met by all Orders of the State out of *Rome*, and thank'd by them that he had not despair'd of the Commonwealth, who, says the Historian, had he been a General of the Carthaginians, must have expected the most extreme Punishment. Indeed a Court was purposely establish'd at *Carthage*, where the Generals were call'd to account for their Conduct, and made responsible for the Events of War. Ill Success was punished there as if it had been a Crime against the State; and a General, who had lost a Battle, was almost sure at his Return, of ending his Days upon a Gallows. Such was the in-^{mexorable}extorable, violent, cruel, barbarous Temper of the *Carthaginians*, always ready to shed the Blood of one another, as well as of Strangers. The strange unheard of Tortures which *Regulus* endur'd from them, are a clear Proof of their savage Disposition, and their History will furnish us with Instances not to be read without Horror.



PART the SECOND.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CARTHAGINIANS.



THE whole Time which ran out from the Foundation of *Carthage*, to the Period of its Ruin, was seven hundred forty-two Years, and may be divided into two Parts. The first, but by much the longest and least known, as is ordinary with the Beginning of all States, extends to the first *Punick* War, and includes a Space of six hundred seventeen Years. The second, which ends with the Destruction of *Carthage*, contains only one hundred twenty-five Years.

CHAP. I.

The Foundation of CARTHAGE, and its Growth till the Time of the first Punic War.

CARTHAGE in *Africk* was a Colony of *Tyrus* the most renown'd City for Commerce then in the World. Long before, *Tyrus* had transplanted another Colony into that Country which built
Utica

Utica 7 celebrated by the Death of the second *Cato*, who for this Reason was call'd commonly *Cato Uticensis*.

AUTHORS are in great Disagreement, relating to the *Epocha* of the Foundation of *Carthage* 2. It is difficult; and not very material, to reconcile them; at least in Prosecution of the Plan propos'd by me, it is sufficient to come near the Truth with the Loss of a few Years.

IT is certain, that *Carthage* was destroy'd under *Solin*: the Consulate of *Cn. Lentulus*, and *L. Mammius*,^{c. 30} the 607th Year of *Rome*, 3858th of the World, and 146 before *Jesus Christ*. The Foundation of it therefore may be plac'd in the Year of the World 3131, when *Athaliab* was King of *Judah*, 135 Years before the Building of *Rome*, and 883 before *Christ*. By this Calculation, the Continuance of *Carthage*, from its Foundation, will be 742 Years.

THE Foundation of *Carthage* is ascrib'd to *Elissa* ^{Justin.} a *Tyrian* Princess, better known by the Name of *L. 18* *Dido*. *Ithobal*, King of *Tyrus*, and Father of the ^{c. 4, 5, 6.} famous *Jezabel*, call'd in Scripture *Ethbaal*, was her ^{App. de} great Grandfather. She marry'd her near Relation ^{BelloPun.} *Acerbas*, call'd otherwise *Sicharbas* and *Sichus*, a ^{Strab. l. 17.} Prince extreamly rich; her Brother was *Pygmalion*, ^{Paterc. l. 1.} King of *Tyrus*. This Prince having put *Sichaus* ^{c. 6th.}

7 *Utica* & *Carthago* ambæ inclytæ, ambæ a Phœnicibus conditæ: Illa fato *Catonis* insignis, hæc suo. *Pompon. Mel.* c. 67. *Utica* and *Carthage* both famous, both built by Phœnicians, the first renown'd in *Cato's* Fate, the second in her own.

2 Our Countryman *Howel* endeavours to reconcile the three different Accounts of the Foundation of *Carthage* in the following Manner. He says that the Town consisted of three Parts, *Cothon* or the Port and Buildings adjoynd

ing to it, which he supposes to have been first built; *Megara* built next, and in Respect of *Cothon* call'd the New Town, or *Karthada*; and *Byrsa*, or the Citadel, built last of all, and probably by *Dido*.

Cothon, to agree with *Appian*, built fifty Years before *Troy* taken; *Megara*, to agree with *Eusebius*, built a hundred ninety-four Years later; *Byrsa*, to agree with *Menander* (cited by *Josephus*) built one hundred sixty-six Years after *Megara*.

to Death, for an Opportunity to seize his immense Treasures, found his cruel Avarice defeated by his Sister *Dido*, who secretly withdrew with her dead Husband's Effects. After many Wanderings, she at last landed upon the Coasts of the *Mediterranean*, in the Gulph of *Utica* and Country of *Africk*, properly so call'd, almost fifteen Miles * from *Tunis*, so well known at present by its Corsairs, and there she settled her self and her few Followers upon some Land purchas'd of the Inhabitants of the Country †.

MANY of the neighbouring Inhabitants, invited by the Prospect of Gain, repair'd thither to sell to those Strangers the Necessaries of Life, and shortly after incorporated themselves with them. From Inhabitants thus collected from different Places, a numerous Multitude soon arose. Those of *Utica* regarding them as their Country-men, and as descended from the same common Stock, deputed Envoys with Presents, and Encouragements to erect a City in the Place where they had first seated themselves. The Natives of the Place, from Sentiments of Esteem and Respect commonly shewn to Strangers, made them the like Offers. Things thus concurring with the Views of *Dido*, she built her City, which was charg'd with an annual Tribute payable to the *Africans* for the Ground it stood upon, and call'd *Carthada* †, *Carthage*, by a Name, which, in the resembling Tongues of the *Phenicians* and *Hebrews*,

* 120 Stadia. Strab. l. 14. p. 687.

† Some say that *Dido* put a Trick upon the Natives, by desiring to purchase of 'em, for her intended Building, only so much Land as an Ox's Hide wou'd compass. The Request was thought too moderate to be deny'd. She cut the Hide into the smallest Things, and with them encompass'd a large

Tract of Ground on which she built a Citadel, from the Hide call'd *Byrsa*. But this Tale of the Thongs is generally exploded by the Learned, who observe that the Hebrew Word *Boira*, which signifies a Fortification, gave Birth to the Greek Word *Byrsa*, which is the Name of the Citadel at *Carthage*.

† *Kartha Hadatt* or *Hadtha*.

signifies the *New Town*. It is said when the Foundations were dug a Horse's Head was found, which was thought a good Augury and a Prefage of the future warlike Genius of this City^a.

THIS Princess was afterwards courted in Marriage by *Jarbas* King of *Getulia*, and threaten'd by him with a War upon her Refusal. *Dido*, who had bound her self by Oath not to consent to a second Marriage, incapable of violating her Faith sworn to *Sichæus*, desired Time for Deliberation, and the appeasing the Ghost of her first Husband by Sacrifice. Having therefore order'd a Pile, she ascended it, and drawing out a Dagger conceal'd under her Robe, she gave herself a mortal Wound^b.

VIRGIL has made a very great Alteration in this History, by supposing that *Æneas*, his Hero, was contemporary with *Dido*, tho' near three Ages had ran out betwixt the one and the other, the Building of *Carthage* being plac'd three hundred

^a Effodere loco signum, quod regia Juno
Monstrarat, caput acris equi; sic nam fore bello
Egregiam, & facilem victu per sæcula gentem.

Virg. Æn. l. 1. v. 447.

^b The Story as it is told more at large in Justin. (L. 18. c. 6.) is this — *Hiarbas*, King of the Mauritanians, sending for ten of the principal Carthaginians, demanded *Dido* in Marriage, with a Denunciation of War upon a Refusal; the Ambassadors, afraid to deliver the Message of *Hiarbas*, with Punic Honesty told her, that his Desire was to have some Person sent to him who was capable to civilize and polish him and his Africans; but that it was impracticable to find any Carthaginian who wou'd be willing to quit his Relations for the Conversation of Barbarians equally savage with the wildest beasts. Here the Queen with In-

dignation interrupting them, and asking, if they were not assist'd to refuse the living in any Manner which might be attended with a Benefit to their Country, to which their very Lives were due? They deliver'd the King's Message, and had her set the Pattern, and make her self the Sacrifice to her Country's Good. *Dido* thus caught, call'd on *Sichæus* with Tears and Lamentations, and then answer'd, that she wou'd go where the Fate of her City call'd her. After three Months were expir'd, she ascended the fatal Pile, and with her last Breath told the Spectators she was going to her Husband as they had order'd her.

Years lower than the Destruction of *Troy*. This Liberty is very excusable in a Poet, who is not ty'd to the scrupulous Exactness of an Historian; and he is justly admir'd for the Beauty of his Plan, in bringing the *Romans*, for whom he writ, into it, and finding an Expedient to introduce the implacable Hatred of *Carthage* and *Rome*, which he poetically and ingeniously deduces from the most distant Origin of those two rival Cities.

CARTHAGE, feeble, as we said before, in its Beginnings, first grew up insensibly in the Country where it was built. But its Dominion remain'd not long shut up within *Africk*. This ambitious City extended her Conquests into *Europe*, by invading *Sardinia*, seizing a great Part of *Sicily*, and the Reduction of almost all *Spain*; and by sending powerful Colonies every where, she continu'd Mistress of the Sea more than six hundred Years, and rose into a State which was capable to dispute a Rivalry with the greatest Empires of the World, by her Opulence, her Commerce, her numerous Armies, her formidable Fleets, and above all, by the Courage and Merit of her Captains. The Date and Circumstances of many of these Conquests are but little known. I shall only say one Word to put my Reader in a Capacity of judging, and to give him some Idea of the Countries, which will often fall in his Way in the Course of this History.

Conquests of the Carthaginians in Africk.

THE first Wars waged by *Carthage*, were for the freeing her self from the annual Tribute for which she stood engag'd to the *Africans* for the Ground they had resign'd to her. This Proceeding does her no Honour, as the Tribute was the primitive Title of her Establishment. It seems as if she was desirous to cover the Obscurity of her Original, by abolishing this Proof of it. But she was not successful

cessful in her first Attempt: Justice was entirely on the Side of the *Africans*, and it met with answerable Success, the War terminating in the Acquisition of a new Title to the Tribute.

SHE next carry'd her Arms against the *Moors* Id. c. 2. and *Numidians*, and made Conquests upon both. Grown more bold by these happy Successes she entirely shook off the Yoke of the Tribute which was so uneasy to her ^c, and rendered her self Mistress of a great Part of *Africk*.

THERE was about this Time a great Dispute between *Carthage* and *Cyrene*, on account of their respective Limits. *Cyrene* was a very powerful City, situated upon the *Mediterranean* towards the great *Syrtis*, and was built by *Battus* the *Lacedemonian*. It was agreed on both sides, that two young Men shou'd at the same Time set out from either City, and that the Place of their Meeting shou'd serve for a common Limit to both States. The *Carthaginians* (two Brothers nam'd *Phileni*) made the most haste; and the others pretending that foul Play had been us'd, and that those Brothers had set out before the appointed Time, refus'd to stand to the Agreement, unless the two Brothers, to remove all Suspicion of unfair Dealing, wou'd consent to be buried alive in the Place where the Meeting had happen'd. They consented, and the *Carthaginians* erected on the Spot to their Memories, two Altars, paid them divine Honours at home, and from that Time the Place has been call'd the Altars of the *Phileni*, *Aræ Philenorum* ^d, and has serv'd for a Bound of the *Carthaginian* Empire, which extended from this Place to the Pillars of *Hercules*.

^c Afri compulsi stipendium urbis conditæ Carthaginiensibus remittere. *Justin.* l. 19. c. 2.

^d These Pillars were not standing in the Time of *Strabo*. Some Geographers think *Arcadia* to be

the Town which was anciently call'd *Philzenorum Aræ*, but others believe it was *Naina* or *Tain*; lying a little West of *Arcadia* in the Gulph of *Sidra*.

Conquests of the Carthaginians in Sardinia, &c.

HISTORY affords us nothing precise, neither of the Time when the *Carthaginians* enter'd *Sardinia*, nor of the Manner how they became Masters of it. It was of great Use to them, and during all their Wars supply'd them plentifully with Provisions. It is separated from *Corfica* by a Strait of only about 7 Miles. The Southern and most fertile Part of it had for its Metropolis *Caralis* or *Calaris* (at present *Cagliari*.) On the Arrival of the *Carthaginians* the Natives withdrew to the Mountains in the Northern Part, which are almost inaccessible, and could not be dispossest'd by the Enemy.

THE *Carthaginians* seiz'd likewise the *Baleares*, now call'd *Majorca* and *Minorca*. Port *Mabon*, in the latter, was call'd so from *Mago* the *Carthaginian* General, who first employ'd and fortify'd it. It is not known who this *Mago* was, but there is great likelihood that he was the Brother of *Hannibal*. Moreover this Port is at this day one of the most considerable in the *Mediterranean*.

THESE Isles furnish'd the *Carthaginians* with the most expert Slingers in the Universe, who did them great Service in Battles and Sieges. They slung large Stones of more than a Pound Weight, and sometimes leaden Bullets^c with that Force and Violence that they pierced the strongest Helmets, Shields and Cuirasses, and with a Dexterity that they almost constantly hit the Place at which the Stroke was aim'd. The Inhabitants of these Isles were accusom'd from Childhood to manage the Sling; for which purpose their Mothers placed upon the Bough

^c Liquefcit excussa Glans fundâ, & attritu aëris, velut ignis, distillat. i. e. The Ball thrown from the Sling dissolves, and, by

the fretting of the Air, runs as if it was melted by Fire. Serap. Nat. Quæst. L. 2, 57.

of a high Tree the Bread design'd for their Children's Breakfast, who were to fast till they had fetch'd it down with their Slings. This Practice gave these Isles the Names of *Baleares* and *Gymnasæ* amongst the Greeks, because the Inhabitants so early *exercis'd* themselves to sling Stones ^f.

Conquests of the Carthaginians in Spain.

BEFORE I proceed to speak of these Conquests, I think my self oblig'd to give my Reader some Idea of Spain.

SPAIN is divided into three Parts, *Bætica*, Cluver. *Lusitania*, *Tarragonensis*. L. 2. c. 3.

BOETICA, so call'd from the River *Bætis**, * Guadalquivir. was the Southern Division of it, and contain'd the present Kingdom of *Granada*, *Andalusia*, Part of *New Castile*, and *Estremadura*. *Cadiz*, call'd by the Ancients *Gades* and *Gadira*, is a Town situated in a

^f Bochart deduces the Name of these Islands from two Phenician Words *Baal-jare*, or Master in the Art of Slings. This strengthens the Authority of Strabo, that the Inhabitants learn'd their Art from the Phenicians, who were once their Masters. Σφενδοῦνται ἀριστοὶ λέγονται ἔξοτε Φοίνικες κατέχον τὰς νήσους. And this is still more probable, when it is consider'd that both Hebrews and Phenicians excell'd in this Art. The Balearian Slings were proper to annoy the Enemy either near or at a Distance. Three of these were always carry'd to War. One hung from the Neck, one from the Waist, and a third was carry'd in the Hands. To this give me Leave to add two Observations

more (foreign indeed to the present Purpose, but) relating to these Islands, and, I hope, not uninteresting to the Reader. The first is, that these Islands were once so infested with Comets, that they apply'd to Rome either for Aid against them, or new Habitations, ἐκβάλλεσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ζώων τῶντων, for they were ejected by them out of the Old. Strabo, Plin. l. 8. c. 55. The other Observation is, that these Islanders were not only expert Slingers, but likewise excellent Swimmers; which they are to this Day, by the Testimony of our Country-man Bidulph, who, in his Travels, says, that being becalm'd near these Islands, a Woman swam to him out of one of them, with a Basket of Fruit to sell.

rabo,
 . 3.
 id.
 Cordoua.
 Seville.

small Isle of the same Name upon the Western Coast of *Andalusia*, about twenty-six Miles from *Gibraltar*. *Hercules's* pushing his Conquests to this Place, and stopping at it as the Extremity of the World, is a known Story. He erected here two Pillars as Monuments of his Victories, according to the Custom of that Age. The Place has always preserv'd the Name, tho' the Pillars are ruin'd by the Injury of Time. Authors are divided in their Sentiments as to the Place where these Pillars were built. *Bætica* was the most fertile, rich and best peopled Part of *Spain*. Two hundred Towns were numbered in it, and it was here that the *Turdetani*, or *Turduli*, had their Habitation. Upon the *Bætis* stood three large Cities, *Castulo* towards the Source, *Corduba* * lower down; the Country of *Lucan* and the two *Senecas*, lastly *Hispalis* *.

Duero.
 Guadi-
 na.

LUSITANIA is bounded on the West by the Ocean, on the North by the River *Darius* *, and on the South by the River *Anas* *. Between these two Rivers is the *Tagus*. *Lusitania* is the *Portugal* of this Day, with a Part of the *Old* and *New Castile*.

Tarragon.
 Barcelo-
 na.
 Ebro.

FARRAGONENSIS comprehended the rest of *Spain*, that is to say, the Kingdoms of *Murcia* and *Valentia*, *Catalonia*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, *Biscay*, *Asturias*, *Gallicia*, the Kingdom of *Leon*, and the greatest Part of the two *Castiles*. *Tarraco* *, a very considerable City, gave its Name to this Part of *Spain*. Very near it lay *Barcino* *. Its Name gives room to a Conjecture that it was built by *Barca*, Father of the great *Hannibal*. The most renown'd People of this Part of *Spain* were the *Celtiberi*, beyond the River *Iberus* *. The *Cantabri*, where *Biscay* now lies; the *Carpetani*, whose Capital was *Toledo*; the *Ovitani*, &c.

SPAIN, abounding with Mines of Gold and Silver, and peopled with a warlike Race of Men, had sufficient to incite at once the Avarice and the Ambition

Ambition of the *Carthaginians*, more Merchants indeed than Conquerors by the Constitution of their Republick. They doubtless were not unacquainted that their *Phenician* Ancestors, as *Diodorus* informs L. 5. us, taking Advantage of the happy Ignorance of the *Spaniards*, concerning the immense Riches hid in the Bowels of their Land, first took from them these precious Treasures in exchange for Commodities of the lowest Value. They foresaw likewise, that if this Country cou'd once be reduc'd under their Obedience, it wou'd plentifully furnish them with disciplin'd Troops for the Conquest of other Nations, as it actually fell out.

The *Carthaginians* first set foot in *Spain* in Assistance of the Inhabitants of *Cadiz*, who were attack'd by the *Spaniards*. That City, as well as *Utica* and *Carthage*, was a Colony of *Tyrus*, and even more ancient than either. The *Tyrians* having built it, consecrated it to the Worship of *Hercules*; and erected a magnificent Temple in Honour of him, which became famous in After-ages. The happy Success of their first Expedition gave the *Carthaginians* a Thirst of carrying their Arms into *Spain*. Justin. d. 44. c. 5. Dioc. l. 5.

IT is not precisely known in what Age they enter'd *Spain*, nor how far they push'd their first Conquests. It is very likely that they mov'd slowly at first, having to do with a warlike Nation, which defended it self with great Resolution. Nor wou'd they ever have accomplish'd their Design, as *Strabo* L. 3. observes, had the *Spaniards* form'd one State, and mutually assisted one another. But every Canton, every People being entirely detach'd from their Neighbours, without any Commerce or Tie, they must necessarily fall a Prey to the Enemy one after another. This Separation on one hand occasion'd their Ruin, and on the other, protracted the War, and made the Conquest more difficult^s; in like

^s Such a Division of Britain retarded likewise, and facilitated the Roman Conquest of it. Dum

singuli pugnant universi vincuntur. Tacit.

manner,

manner it has been remark'd that tho' *Spain* was the first Province attack'd by the *Romans* upon the Continent, it was the last subdu'd by them^h, and took not their Yoke entirely till after a vigorous Opposition of more than two hundred Years.

IT appears from the Accounts of *Polybius* and *Livy*, relating to the Wars of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* and *Hannibal* in *Spain*, which will be related in their Order, that the *Carthaginians* had but little advanc'd in their Conquest of that Nation before this Time, and that the greater Part of it remain'd unsubdu'd. But in the Space of twenty Years they compleated the Conquest of almost the whole Country.

AT the Time that *Hannibal* march'd for *Italy*, all the Coast of *Africk*, from the *Philenorum Aœ*, by the grand *Syris*, to the Pillars of *Hercules*, was in Subjection to the *Carthaginians*. Passing the Straits they conquer'd all the Western Coast of *Spain* along the Ocean to the *Pyrenean Hills*. The Coast, which lies upon the *Mediterranean*, was likewise almost wholly subdu'd by them; here they built *New Carthage*; and they were Masters of all the Country as far as the *Iberus* which bounded their Dominion. Such then was the Extent of their Empire. In the Heart of the Country some Places held out against all their Efforts.

Conquests of the Carthaginians in Sicily.

THE *Carthaginian Wars* in *Sicily* are more known. I shall relate here those which were waged from the Reign of *Xerxes*, who engag'd the *Carthaginians* to carry their Arms into *Sicily*, to the first *Punic War*. This Space includes near two hundred and twenty Years from the Year of the World 3520 to 3738.

^h Hispania prima Romanis um perdomita est. *Liv. L. 28.*
 inita Provinciarum quæ quidem s. 12.
 continentis sint, postrema omni-

In the Beginning of these Wars *Syracuse*, the most considerable and powerful City of *Sicily*, had put the sovereign Power into the Hands of *Gelon*, *Hiero*, and *Tbrasybulus*, three Brothers who succeeded one another. After them a Democracy, or popular Government, was establish'd, and subsisted more than sixty Years. From this Time the two *Dionysius's*, *Timoleon* and *Agathocles*, had the Sway in *Syracuse*. *Pyrrhus* was afterwards call'd into *Sicily*, but held it but few Years. Such was the Government of *Sicily* during the Wars, of which I am going to treat. They will give us great Light into the Power of the *Carthaginians* when they began the War upon the *Romans*.

SICILY is the largest and most considerable Isle in the *Mediterranean*. Its Figure is triangular, and has therefore given it the Name of *Trinacria* and *Triquetra*. The Eastern Side, which lies against the *Ionian* or *Grecian* Sea, extends from Cape *Pachinum* * Passado. to *Pelorum* *. Cities the most celebrated on this * Il Faro. Coast are *Syracuse*, *Tauromonium*, *Messana*. The Northern Coast, which looks to *Italy*, extends from Cape *Pelorum* to Cape *Lilybaeum* *. Cities the most * Capo Boeo. celebrated on this Coast are *Myle*, *Hymera*, *Panormus*, *Eryx*, *Motyæ*, *Lilybaeum*. The Southern Coast, which looks to *Africk*, extends from Cape *Lilybaeum* to *Pachynum*. Cities the most celebrated on this Coast are *Selinus*, *Agrigentum*, *Gela*, *Camarina*. This Isle is separated from *Italy* by a Strait of not above Heylin: a Mile and a half, which is known by the Name of Strabo, l. 6. the *Faro* or Strait of *Messina*, the Passage from *Lilybaeum* to *Africk* is only 1500 Furlongs, that is, about sixty-five Leagues.

IT is not precisely known in what Age the *Carth.* A. M. *thaginians* made their first Attempts upon *Sicily*. 3496. It is only certain that they already possess'd some Carth. Part of it when they entered into a Treaty with the 380. *Romans* the same Year that the Kings were expell'd, Rome 245. and *Consuls* substituted in their Room, twenty-eight Christ Years 508.

could make no long Defence, and surrendered at Discretion. This Battle was fought the very Day of the famous Action at *Thermopylae*, where three hundred *Spartans**, with the Sacrifice of their own Lives, disputed *Xerxes's* Entry into *Greece*.

WHEN the sad News of the entire Defeat of her Army was brought to *Carthage*, Consternation, Grief, Despair, gave Disorder, and an Alarm which are not to be express'd. The Enemy was believ'd to be already at her Gates. This was the Character of the *Carthaginians*, to fall from the greatest Courage, into the other Extreme. They immediately sent a Deputation to *Gelon*, to demand Peace of him upon any Terms. He heard their Envoys with a peculiar Goodness. The compleat Victory which he had gain'd, far from rendering him fiery and intractable, only increased his Modesty and Clemency even towards an Enemy. He granted them a Peace, with no other Condition, but that of paying two thousand Talents towards the Expence of the War. He demanded likewise of them, the building of two Temples, where the Treaty of this Peace should be expos'd to publick View, and as it were deposited in Trust. The *Carthaginians* thought this no dear Purchase of a Peace, which was so absolutely necessary to their Affairs, and which they hardly durst hope for. *Gisgo*, Son of *Amilcar*, according to the unjust Custom of the *Carthaginians* of imputing to the General the bad Success of a War, and obliging him to suffer the Penalties of it, was punish'd for his Father's Crime, and sent into Banishment. He pass'd the rest of his Days at *Selinuntum*, a City of *Sicily*.

GELON, on his Return to *Syracuse*, conven'd the People, and invited all the Citizens to appear in

* Besides the 300 Spartans, the Thebians, a People of Bœotia, to the Number of 700, fought and

dy'd with Leonidas, in this memorable Action. Herodot. l. 7. c. 202, 222.

An Attack
Silver Tal-
lent, ac-
cording to
Dr. Ber-
nard,
206 l.
5 s.
conse-
quently
2000 Ta-
lents
412500 l.

Arms. He enter'd the Assembly, unarm'd and unattended with his Guards, and gave an account of the whole Conduct of his Life. His Discourse met with no other Interruption, but the publick Testimonies of Acknowledgment and Admiration. Far from being treated as a Tyrant and Oppressor of his Country's Liberty, he was regarded as her Benefactor and Deliverer; all with one unanimous Voice proclaim'd him King; and this Dignity was after him conferred successively and without Interruption upon three Descendents of his Family.

Diod. l. 13.

AFTER the memorable Defeat of the *Athenians* before *Syracuse*, where *Nicias* perish'd with his whole Navy, the *Segestans*, who had declared for the *Athenians* against the *Syracusians*, fearing the Resentments of their Enemies, and seeing themselves already fallen upon by the Inhabitants of *Selinuntum*, implor'd the Assistance of the *Carthaginians*, and put themselves and City under their Protection. It was debated some time at *Carthage*, what Party should be taken, the Affair meeting with great Difficulties. On one hand, the *Carthaginians* were very desirous to become Masters of a City which was so convenient for them; on the other, they dreaded the Power and Forces of *Syracuse*, which had so lately cut off a numerous Army of the *Athenians*, and by so great a Victory become more formidable than ever. The Passion of Empire prevail'd, and Succour was promis'd to the *Segestans*.

A. M.

3592.

Carth.

471.

Rome

336. before

Christ 412.

THE Care of this War was committed to *Hannibal*, who was invested with the first Dignity of the State, being one of the *Suffetes*. He was Grandson of *Amilcar*, who had been defeated by *Gelon*, and kill'd before *Hymera*; and Son of *Gisgo*, who had been condemn'd to Exile. He set out animated with a Desire of revenging his Family and his Country, and of defacing the Disgrace of the last Defeat. His Army and his Fleet were numerous. He landed at a Place call'd the *Wells of Lilybeum*, which

which has given it's Name to a City afterwards built upon the same Spot. His first Enterprize was the Siege of *Selinuntum*. The Attack and Defence were equally vigorous, the very Women shewing a Resolution above their Sex. After a long Resistance the City was taken by Assault, and given up to Plunder. The Victor exercis'd the last Cruelties, without regard to either Age or Sex. He permitted the Inhabitants, who had sav'd themselves by Flight, to remain in the City after it had been dismantled, and to till the Lands, on Condition of paying a Tribute to the *Carthaginians*. This City subsisted 242 Years afterwards.

HYMERA, next besieged by him, and likewise taken by Assault and more cruelly treated than *Selinuntum*, was entirely raz'd 240 Years after its Foundation. He made three thousand Prisoners undergo all sorts of Ignominies and Punishments, and at last cut their Throats in the very Place where his Grandfather had been kill'd by *Gelon's* Horse, to appease and satisfy his *Manes* by the Blood of these unhappy Victims.

THESE Expeditions being finish'd, *Hannibal* return'd to *Carthage*, all the City pour'd out to meet him, and received him amidst the most joyful Acclamations and Applauses.

THESE happy Successes renew'd the Desire, and Design always entertain'd by the *Carthaginians*, of rendering themselves Masters of all *Sicily*. Three Years after, they named *Hannibal* a second Time their General, and upon his pleading his great Age, and refusing the Charge of this War, they gave him for Lieutenant *Imilcar*, Son of *Hanno*, of the same Family. The Preparations for this War were equal to the great Design meditated by the *Carthaginians*. The Fleet and Army were immediately ready, and departed for *Sicily*. The Number of their Forces amounted, according to *Timæus*, to six-score thousand, and, according to *Ephorus*, to three hundred

hundred thousand. The Enemy on their Side had put themselves in a Posture of Defence, and of giving the *Carthaginians* a warm Reception. The *Syracusians* had sent to all their Allies to levy Forces, and all the Cities of *Sicily* to encourage them to a courageous Defence of their Liberties.

AGRIGENTUM expected to feel the first Fury of the Enemy. It was a City powerfully rich ^b, and strongly fortify'd. It was situated, as were *Hymera* and *Selinuntum*, upon that Coast of *Sicily* which looks to *Africk*; and indeed *Hannibal* open'd the Campaign with the Siege of this City. Thinking it only accessible on one Side, he turned his whole Attacks that Way. He threw up Banks and Terrasses, which rose to the height of the Walls; and to expedite this Work, made use of the Rubbish and Fragments of the Tombs around the City, which he had thrown down for that Purpose. A pestilential Distemper immediately seiz'd his Army, and swept away Numbers of his Soldiers, and the General himself. The *Carthaginians* interpreted this Disaster as the Punishment of the Gods, who thus revenged the Injuries done to the Dead, whose Spectres many fancied stalk'd before them in the

^b The very Sepulchral Monuments shew'd the Magnificence and Luxury of this City, which were adorn'd with Statues of Birds and Horses. But the Wealth and boundless Generosity of *Gelliar*, one of its Inhabitants, almost exceed all Belief. He entertain'd the People with Spectacles and Feasts; and in a Time of Dearth preserv'd his City from Famine: He gave Portions to poor Maids, and rescued the unfortunate from Want and Despair: He had Houses in the City and the Country, purposely erected for the Accommodation of Strangers,

whom he usually dismiss'd with handsome Presents. Five hundred Shipwreck'd Citizens of *Gela*, applying to him, were bountifully relieved, and every Man supply'd with a Cloak and a Coat out of his Wardrobe. *Diod. l. 13. Valer. Max. l. 4. c. ult. Empedocles, the Philosopher, born in Agrigentum, has a memorable Saying concerning his Fellow Citizens; That the Agrigentines spent every Day with a Luxury, as if they expected to see no other; and built with a Strength and Magnificence, as if they thought of living for ever.*

M

Night.

Night. The Tombs therefore were no more touch'd, Prayers were ordered to be made according to the Usage of *Carthage*, a Child was sacrificed to *Saturn*, in Compliance with a most inhuman Custom, and many Victims were thrown into the Sea, in honour of *Neptune*.

THE besieg'd, who at first had defended themselves with great Success, were at last so press'd with Famine, that all Hope, all Relief seeming desperate, they resolv'd to quit the City. The following Night was destin'd to this Purpose; it is easy to judge what was the Grief of these miserable Inhabitants, thus forced to abandon their Houses, their Substance, their Country; but Life was still dearer than all these. Never did any Sight exhibit any Thing more sad than this. Without speaking of others, a Troop of Women, all bath'd in Tears, were seen dragging after them their helpless Children, to convey them from the Fury of the Victor. But a Circumstance, which still improved the publick Grief, was the Necessity of leaving the Aged and Sick behind, who were neither capable to flie or resist. The unhappy Exiles arriv'd at *Gela*, the nearest Town, and there receiv'd all the Comfort which could be expected in so deplorable a Condition. In the mean time *Imilcar* enter'd the City, and cut the Throats of all who were found in it. The Pillage was immense, and such as might be expected from one of the most opulent Cities of *Sicily*, which had two hundred thousand Inhabitants, and had never been besieged, nor consequently plunder'd before. Pictures, Vessels, Statues of all sorts were found in infinite Numbers, this City having an exquisite Taste that Way. Amongst the rest was the famous Bull ^a of *Phalani*, which was sent to *Carthage*.

^a This Bull, with other Plunder Scipio, when he took Carthage here taken, was afterwards sold in the third Punic War. Cic. l. 4. stored to the Agrigentines by Verrem, c. 33.

THE Siege of *Agrigentum* had lasted eight Months. *Imilcar* made it his Winter Quarters to give his Troops the necessary Refreshment, and left it entirely in Ruins, the Beginning of the Spring. He laid Siege to *Gela*, and took it notwithstanding the Assistance brought by *Dionysius* the Tyrant, who had seized the Government of *Syracuse*. *Imilcar* finish'd the War by a Treaty with *Dionysius*; the Articles of which were, that the *Carthaginians*, besides their ancient Acquisitions in *Sicily*, should remain Masters of the Country of the *Sicanians* *, *Selinuntum*, *Agri-* * The Si-
gentum, *Hymera*, as likewise of that of *Gela* and *Camarina*, with Liberty to the Inhabitants to remain *and Sici-*
in their respective Towns dismantled, and paying a *lians were*
Tribute to *Carthage*: That the *Leontines*, the *Mes-* *anciently*
senians, and all the *Sicilians* should live agreeably to *two dis-*
their own Laws, and preserve their Liberty and In- *ting Peo-*
dependence: That, lastly, the *Syracusians* should re- *ple.*
main subject to *Dionysius*. After this Treaty was con-
cluded, *Imilcar* return'd to *Carthage*, where the
Plague still committed great Ravages in his Army.

DIONYSIUS only yielded to the late Peace *Diod.*
with the *Carthaginians* for Time to establish his *l. 14.*
new Authority, and make the necessary Preparations *A. M.*
for the War, which he meditated against them. As *366.*
he very well knew the formidable Town of that *Carrh.*
People, he forgot nothing to put himself in a Ca- *479. Rome*
pacity to fall upon them with Success; and his De- *349. be-*
sign was wonderfully seconded by the Zeal of his *fore*
Subjects. The Reputation of this Prince, the De- *Christ,*
fire of distinguishing himself, the Bait of Gain, and *404.*
the Prospect of the Rewards promised by him to
those whose Industry should most recommend them,
drew from all Parts into *Sicily* the most able Hands
of all kinds for War. All *Syracuse* became as it were
a common Workhouse, where in every Quarter were
seen Men at work upon Swords, Helmets, Shields,
Military Engines, and in laying in every Thing neces-
sary for building Ships and the Equipment of a Fleet.

The Invention of five Rows of Oars was then recent; hitherto only three * Rows had been known. *Dionysius* animated the Workmen by his Bounties and Praises seasonably bestow'd, above all by his popular and engaging Behaviour, more successful than all the rest to incite the Industry and Ardour of the Workmen, the most excellent of which in any kind were frequently admitted to the Honour of his Table.

WHEN every Thing was ready, and a great Number of Forces had been levy'd in different Countries, he called the *Syracusians* together, laid his Design before them, and represented the *Carthaginians* as the declared Enemies of the *Grecians*; that they entertain'd no less Views than the Invasion of all *Sicily*; the putting all the *Grecian* Cities under their Yoke; and that if their Progress was not stopp'd, *Syracuse* herself would not be long unattack'd, the Delay of the Enterprize and their present Inaction, being owing meerly to the Ravages made by the Plague, which by the by was a favourable Opportunity put into the Hands of the *Syracusians*. Tho' the Tyranny and the Tyrant were equally odious to *Syracuse*, yet the Hatred to the *Carthaginians* prevailed over all other Considerations, and all the World, more from the Views of an interested Policy than those of Justice, receiv'd the Speech with Applause. Without any Complaints of Treaties violated, any Declaration of War, *Dionysius* gave up to the Fury of the People the Persons and Goods of the *Carthaginians*. Great Numbers of them then resided in *Syracuse*, and follow'd Merchandize upon the Faith of Treaties. The Populace ran to their Houses, pillag'd their Effects, and pretended an Authority for putting every Ignominy, every Punishment upon them, by calling all this only Reprisal for the Cruelty exercised by them against the Natives of the Country. And this pernicious Example of Perfidy and Inhumanity was copied in the whole Extent of *Sicily*. Here, as it were, was hung out the

Signal

Signal of the War declared against them. *Dionysius* having thus begun to do Justice to himself, sent Deputies to *Carthage*, to demand Liberty for all the *Sicilian* Cities in her Power, with a Denunciation that otherwise all her Subjects in them should be treated as Enemies. This News scatter'd a general Alarm, and chiefly in Reflection on the pitiable Condition to which they were reduced.

DIONYSIUS open'd the Campaign with the Siege of *Motya*, which was the *Carthaginian* Magazine in *Sicily*, and he press'd the Town with a Rigour, which deny'd *Imilcar*, the *Carthaginian* Admiral, all Power to relieve it. He mov'd forward his Engines, batter'd the Place with his Battering-Rams, approached the Walls with Towers six Stories high, rowl'd upon Wheels, and rising equal with the Height of their Houses; from these Towers he annoy'd the Besieg'd with continu'd and furious Discharges of Arrows and Stones, sent from his *Catapults*^b, an Engine of a late Invention. The City at last, after a long and vigorous Defence, was taken by Assault, and all the Inhabitants put to the Sword, except those who took Sanctuary in the Temples. The Pillage was given up to the Soldiers, and *Dionysius* leaving a Garrison and a trusty Governour, return'd to *Syracuse*.

THE following Year *Imilcar*, appointed one of ^{Diod. l. 14.} the *Suffetes*, return'd to *Sicily* with an Army far ^{Justin. l. 19. c. 2.} more numerous than before. He landed at *Palerme**, took several Cities, and recover'd *Motya* by ^{Panor-3.} Force. Animated by these happy Successes, he march'd to *Syracuse*, with Design to besiege it, conducting his Infantry by Land, while his Fleet under *Maga* coasted along the Shore.

^b The Curious Reader may find every Thing relating to the Antiquity, the Use and Form of this terrible Engine in the POLIORCETICON of Eipsius, l. 3. Dialog. 2.

IMILCAR's Arrival threw *Syracuse* into a great Consternation. More than two hundred Ships loaden with the Spoils of the Enemy, and advancing in good Order, sail'd in a sort of Triumph into the great Harbour, follow'd by five hundred Barks. At the same Time was seen the Land Army approaching on the other Side of the City, compos'd, according to some Authors, of three hundred thousand Foot*, and three thousand Horse. *Imilcar* set up his Tent in the very Temple of *Jupiter*, the rest of the Army incamp'd at the Distance of about a Mile and a half from the City. Advancing up to the City, *Imilcar* offer'd Battle to the Inhabitants, who were not in any Disposition to accept it. *Imilcar*, content with this Acknowledgment from the *Syracusians* of their own Weakness and his Superiority, returned to his Camp, not doubting but he should become Master of the City in a very short Time, considering it as his certain Prey, and which could not possibly avoid falling into his Hands. During the Space of thirty Days, he wasted the Neighbourhood, and ruin'd all the Country, he made himself Master of the Suburbs of *Arcadia*, and pillaged the Temples of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*. To fortify his Camp, he threw down the Tombs scatter'd round the City, and amongst others that of *Gelon* and his Wife *Demarete*, built with extraordinary Magnificence.

THESE happy Successes were of no longer continuance. All the Glory of this anticipated Triumph vanish'd in a Moment, and taught all Mortals, says *Diodorus* the Historian, that the proudest and most elevated Mortal shall, sooner or later, confess his own Weakness, blasted and thrown down by a superior Power. Whilst *Imilcar*, Master of almost all the Towns of *Sicily*, was expecting to finish his Conquests, by the

* Some Authors say but thirty thousand Foot, which is the more probable Account, as the Fleet, which held the Town block'd up by Sea, was so formidable.

Reduction of *Syracuse*, a contagious Distemper seiz'd his Army, and made incredible Havock in it. Summer was now in it's Strength, and the Heat this Year excessive. The Infection began amongst the *Africans*, who dy'd on Heaps, without any Possibility of relieving them. At first Care was taken to bury the Dead; but the Number daily increasing, and the Distemper rapidly spreading, the Dead neither could be buried, nor the Sick have any Attendance. This Plague had uncommon Symptoms, cruel Dysenteries, violent Fevers, torn Entrails, acute Pains over all the Body, Madness and a Phrensy which threw the Infected upon whatever Persons fell in their Way, even to the tearing them to Pieces.

DIONYSIUS lost not so favourable an Opportunity of falling upon the Enemy. Feeble was the Resistance from an Army more than half conquer'd by the Plague. The *Carthaginian* Ships were almost all either taken or burnt. All the Inhabitants of *Syracuse*, old Men, Women, Children, pour'd out of the City to behold an Event which appear'd miraculous to them. With Hands lifted up to Heaven, they thank'd the Tutelar Gods of their City, that they had aveng'd the Sanctity of Temples and Tombs, brutally violated by these *Barbarians*. Night coming on, both Sides retir'd to their Habitations, and *Imilcar* taking the Opportunity of this short Intermission of Hostilities, sent to *Dionysius* for Permission to carry back with him the small Remainder of his shatter'd Troops, with an Offer of three hundred Talents, which was all the Silver he had then remaining. Permission could only be obtain'd for the *Carthaginians*, whom *Imilcar* convey'd off in the Night, and left the rest to the Mercy of the Conqueror.

About
61800 l.
English
Money.

IN such an Ebb of Fortune did the *Carthaginian* General retire from *Syracuse*, so elate and insolent a few Days before. Bitterly bewailing his own, but most of all his Country's Fate, he, with Insult

See Justi
b. 19. c. 1.
whom I
have ven-
der'd mo
and faithfull

ban
tr. Rollin
his
speech.

and the most transported Rage, accus'd the Gods as the sole Authors of his Misfortunes. " The Enemy, continued he, may indeed rejoyce, but have no Reason to glory in our Misery. We return victorious over them, and are only defeated by the Plague; no Part, he said, of the Disaster touch'd him so much as his Hurveying so many gallant Men; and his being relerv'd not for the Comforts of Life, but for the Sport and Insult of so dire a Calamity: However, since he had brought back the miserable Remains of an Army, committed to him, he had now nothing left to do but to follow Soldiers lying dead before *Syracuse*; and to shew his Country that he had not liv'd so long out of a Fondness for Life, but to preserve to her the Troops which had escap'd the Plague, from the Fury of the Enemy, to which his more early Death wou'd have betray'd them".

HE delay'd not long the Execution of his bloody Menace, but having forc'd his Way through the City, plung'd in the last Desolation, he entered his House, shut his Doors against the Citizens, and even his own Children, and gave himself the fatal Stroke in Compliance with a Practice to which the *Heathens* falsely gave the Name of Courage, but at the bottom was no other than a cowardly Despair.

A NEW Accession of Misfortunes overwhelm'd this unhappy City. The *Africans*, from all Time implacable in their Hatred against the *Carthaginians*, but now provok'd to the Height of Fury at the barbarous Treatment of their Country-men left behind to the Butchery of the *Syracusians*, assembled in the most frantick Manner, sounded the Alarm, took Arms, and after they had seiz'd *Tunis* march'd directly to *Carthage* to the Number of two hundred thousand Men. The City believ'd it self lost without Resource. This new Incident was look'd upon as the Effect and Consequence of the Wrath of the Gods which pursu'd the Guilty even to *Carthage*. As the Inhabi-

* Surviving

Inhabitants of that Place, in all publick Calamities, carried their Superstition even to Excess, their first Care was to appease the offended Gods. *Ceres* and *Proserpine* were Divinities till that Time unheard of in *Africk*. But now to repair the Outrage done to them in the Pillage of their Temples, they had magnificent Statues erected, Priests appointed out of the most distinguish'd Families of the City, Sacrifices and Victories offer'd according to the *Greek* Ritual, and in short nothing was neglected which cou'd be thought proper to appease the angry Goddeses. After this first Care was dispatch'd, the Defence of the City was the next. Happily for the *Carthaginians* this numerous Army had no Chief, but was like a Body unanimated with a Soul, no Provisions, no military Engines; no Discipline, no Subordination were to be met with here; every Man was a General or Independent. Sedition therefore getting into so ill form'd an Army, and Famines daily increasing, this Rabble withdrew every Man to his own Habitation, and deliver'd *Carthage* from so terrible an Alarm.

THE *Carthaginians* not discourag'd with their late Disaster, continu'd their Attempts upon *Sicily*. *Mago* their General, and one of the *Suffetes*, lost a great Battle, and his own Life. The *Carthaginian* Chiefs demanded a Peace, and had one offer'd, on Condition of their quitting all *Sicily*, and paying the Expence of the War. They made a Shew of accepting the Peace on the Terms it was offer'd, but representing their Want of Power to deliver up the Cities without an Order from their Republick, they obtain'd a Truce long enough to give them Time to send to *Carthage*. This Interval was employ'd to raise and discipline new Troops, over which *Mago* Son of him lately kill'd, was constituted General. He was young, but had a great deal of Merit and Reputation. He arriv'd in *Sicily*, and after the Time of the Truce was expir'd, gave Battle to *Dionysius*, in which *Lep-
tines*,

Leptines ^P, one of the Generals of the latter, was kill'd, and more than fourteen thousand *Syracusians* remain'd dead upon the Field. The Fruit of this Victory was an honourable Peace which left the *Carthaginians* in Possession of all they had in *Sicily*, with some new Places added, and a thousand Talents * given them towards defraying the Charge of the War.

Justin. l. 20. c. 5. **ABOUT** this Time it was that a Law pass'd at *Carthage* forbidding its Inhabitants to learn to write or speak the *Greek* Language, thus to deprive them of the Means of corresponding with the Enemy, either by Speech or Writing. This was owing to the Treachery of a *Carthaginian* who had writ in *Greek* to *Dionysius* to give him Advice of the Departure of the Army from *Carthage*.

Diod. l. 15. **CARTHAGE** had yet another Calamity to struggle with. The Plague got into the City, and made terrible Ravage. *Panic* Terrors, and violent Fits of Phrenzy immediately seiz'd the Heads of the distemper'd, who sallying arm'd out of their Houses, as if the Enemy had been in Possession of the Town, kill'd or wounded all who unhappily fell in their Way. The *Africans* and *Sardinians* willingly embrac'd this Opportunity which seem'd favourable for their shaking off a Yoke which sorely gall'd them; but both were vanquish'd and reduc'd to Obedience. *Dionysius* form'd at the same Time an Enterprize carry'd on with the same Views, and with the same Success. He dy'd ^q shortly after, and had for Successor his Son of the same Name. We

^P This *Leptines* was Brother to *Dionysius*.

* About 206000 l.

^q This is the *Dionysius* who invited *Plato* to his Court, and afterwards, offended with his Freedom, sold him for a Slave. Philosophers from Greece came to *Syracuse* to redeem their Brother, which when they had done, they

sent him home with this useful Lesson. That Philosophers ought very rarely, or very obligingly, to converse with Princes. This Prince had Learning, and affected the Reputation of a Poet, but could not gain it at the *Olympick* Games, whither he had sent his Verses to be repeated by his Brother *Thearides*. It had been happy for him if

WE have already taken notice of the first Treaty Polyb. concluded with the *Romans* by the *Carthaginians*. L. 3. There was another which *Orosius* says was concluded in the 402^d Year of the Foundation of *Rome*, and by consequence about the Time that we are speaking of. This second Treaty was the same in Substance with the first, excepting that the Inhabitants of *Tyrus* and *Utica* were expressly comprehend- ed in it, and joyn'd with the *Carthaginians*.

AFTER the Death of the elder *Dionysius*, *Syracuse* was harrass'd with great Troubles. *Dionysius* Diod. L. 16. the younger, who had been expell'd, restor'd himself Plut. in Timol. by Force, and exercis'd great Cruelties. One Party A. M. of the Citizens implor'd the Assistance of *Icetes* Ty- 3656. rant of the *Leontines*, and by Descent a *Syracusan*. Carth. 535. The Opportunity seem'd favourable to the *Carthagi-* Rome nians for the Seisure of all *Sicily*, and accordingly 400. they sent a mighty Fleet. In this Extremity the before *Syracusians*, who wish'd best to their Country, had *Christ* Recourse to *Corinth*, which had often assisted them in 346. their Difficulties, and was of all the *Grecian* Cities the most declar'd Enemy to Tyranny, and the most avow'd and generous Asserters of Liberty. The *Corinthians* sent over *Timoleon*, a Man of rare Merit, and who had signaliz'd his Zeal for the Publick, in freeing his Country from the Yoke of Tyranny, with the Peril of his own Family. He departed with only ten Ships, and arriving at *Rheguim* he eluded, by a happy Stratagem, the Vigilance of the *Carthaginians*, who, inform'd by *Icetes* of his Voyage and Design, were desirous to intercept his Passage to *Sicily*.

TIMOLEON had no more than a thousand Soldiers with him, but with this Handful of Men

if the Athenians had had no better Opinion of his Poetry; for their pronouncing him Victor on the Recital of his Poems in their City, threw him into such a Transport of

Joy and Intemperance, that both together kill'd him; and so perhaps was verify'd the Prediction of the Oracle, that he should die when he had overcome his Betters.

he.

he march'd boldly to the Relief of *Syracuse*. His small Army increas'd proportionably as he march'd. The *Syracusians* were in a pitiable Condition, and quite hopeless. They saw the *Carthaginians* Masters of the Port; *Icetes* of the City; and *Dionysius* of the Citadel. Happily upon *Timoleon's* Arrival *Dionysius* put the Citadel, which he cou'd defend no longer, into his Hands, with all the Forces, Arms, and Ammunition in it, and by his means escap'd to *Corinth*^r. *Timoleon* had by Emissaries artfully represented to the Foreign Forces of *Mago's* Army, which (by a Fault in the Constitution of *Carthage* before taken notice of) was chiefly compos'd of such, and these too most of 'em *Grecians*, that it was astonishing to see *Grecians* labouring to render *Barbarians* Masters of *Sicily*, from whence in a little time they wou'd pass over into *Greece*. For cou'd they imagine, he ask'd, that the *Carthaginians* were come so far, only to establish *Icetes* Tyrant of *Syracuse*? This Discourse being scatter'd amongst *Mago's* Army, gave him a very great Uneasiness, and, as he wanted only a Pretence to retire, he was willing to have it believ'd that his Forces were ready to betray and desert him, and on the Credit of this he drew his Fleet out of the Harbour, and sail'd with a Wind to *Carthage*. *Icetes*, when he was gone, cou'd not hold it long against the *Corinthians*; and therefore left them entire Masters of the City.

^r Here he preserv'd some Resemblance of his former Tyranny, by turning Schoolmaster, and exercising a Discipline over Boys, when he could no longer controul Men. He had Learning, and was once a Scholar of *Plato*, whom he drew again into *Sicily*, notwithstanding the unworthy Treatment put upon him by the Father. *Philip King* of *Macedon* meeting him in the Streets

of *Corinth*, and asking him the Reason of losing so considerable a Principality, left him by his Father; he answer'd, that his Father had left him the Inheritance, but not the Fortune, which had preserv'd both him and that. However, Fortune did him no great Injury, by replacing him on the Dungbill, from which she had rais'd his Father.

MAGO, on his Arrival at *Carthage*, was impeach'd, but he prevented the destin'd Punishment by a voluntary Death. His Body was ty'd to a Gallows, and expos'd a Spectacle to the People. New Forces were rais'd at *Carthage*, and a Fleet sent to *Sicily* more numerous and powerful than the last. It was compos'd of two hundred Ships, besides a thousand Transports, and the Army amounted to more than seventy thousand Men. They landed at *Lilybaeum* under the Conduct of *Amilcar* and *Hannibal*, and resolv'd first to fall upon the *Corinthians*. *Timoleon* waited not, but went out to meet them. But such was the Consternation at *Syracuse*, that of all the Forces which were there, only three thousand *Syracusians*, and four thousand Strangers follow'd him, and of the latter, a thousand deserted in their March out of a cowardly Fear of the Danger they were going to. He was not dishearten'd, but encouraging the Remainder of his Forces to fight bravely for the Safety and Liberty of their Allies, he led them against the Enemy, whose Rendezvous he had learn'd was upon the Bank of the small River *Crimesus*. It appear'd a Rashness inexcusable to fall upon an Army so numerous, as was that of the Enemy, with only four or five thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse: But *Timoleon*, who knew that Bravery joyn'd to a prudent Conduct had the Advantage over Number, rely'd on the Courage of his Soldiers, who appear'd resolute rather to die than to yield, and with Ardour demanded to be led against the Enemy. The Event justify'd his Views and his Hopes. A Battle was fought; the *Carthaginians* were routed, and left behind them more than ten thousand slain, in which Number were more than three thousand *Carthaginian* Citizens, which fill'd all *Carthage* with Mourning and Consternation. The Camp was taken, and with it infinite Riches and a great Number of Prisoners.

TIMOLEON, with the News of the Victory, sent to *Corinth* the finest Arms which were found
amongst

amongst the Plunder. For he was passionately desirous of having his City become the publick Talk and Admiration, when Men shou'd see that she only of all the *Grecian* Cities adorn'd her finest Temples, not with *Grecian* Spoils, and Offerings still dy'd with the Blood of her Citizens, fit only to preserve the melancholy Remembrance; but with *Barbarian* Spoils, which by fine Inscriptions display'd at once the Courage and religious Acknowledgment of those who had won them. For these pompous Inscriptions exhibited, *That the Corinthians, and Timoleon their General, after having free'd the Sicilian Greeks from the Carthaginian Yoke, had hung up these Arms in their Temples, in eternal Acknowledgment of the Bounty of the Gods.*

AFTER this, *Timoleon* leaving the Foreign Troops in the Enemy's Territory to finish the Waste of the *Carthaginian* Lands, return'd to *Syracuse*. On his Arrival there he banish'd the thousand Soldiers who had deserted him, and contented himself with the Revenge only of ordering them to leave *Syracuse* before the setting of the Sun.

THIS Victory was follow'd with the taking a great many Towns, which oblig'd the *Carthaginians* to demand Peace.

IN the same Proportion that all Appearances of Success made the *Carthaginians* eager for new Efforts, for powerful Armies by Land and Sea, and insolent and cruel in Prosperity; in the same did their Courage sink in unforeseen Adversities, their Hopes of new Resources vanish, and their mean Souls stoop to ask Quarter of the most inconsiderable Enemies, and shamelessly accept the most hard and mortifying Conditions. Those now impos'd were, that they shou'd only remain in Possession of the Lands which lay beyond the River *Halycus*^o; that they shou'd give

^o The River is not far distant in *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* *Lycus*, from *Agrigentum*. It is called *but this is thought to be a mistake.*

free Leave to the Natives to retire to *Syracuse* with their Families and Goods; and that they shou'd have neither Alliance nor Correspondence with the Tyrants of that City.

ABOUT the Time that we have last treated of, *Justin.* in all Appearance, fell out at *Carthage* a memorable *l. 21. c. 4.* Transaction related by *Justin.* *Hanno*, one of her most powerful Citizens, form'd the Design of rendering himself Master of the Republick, by the Destruction of the whole Senate. He chose for the Execution of this bloody Purpose, the Day on which his Daughter was to be married, when he design'd to invite the Senators to an Entertainment, and poison them. The Thing was discover'd; but such was *Hanno's* Credit, that the Government durst not proceed to the Punishment of so execrable a Crime: It was thought sufficient to prevent the like by an Act which forbad in general too great a Magnificence at Weddings, and regulated the Expence of those Ceremonies. *Hanno* seeing his Policy defeated, resolv'd to make use of open Force by arming all his Slaves. Here again he was discover'd, and to avoid Punishment, he retir'd with twenty thousand arm'd Slaves to a Castle strongly fortify'd, and from thence endeavour'd to draw into his Rebellion the *Africans*, and the King of *Mauritania*, but was unsuccessful. He was taken and led to *Carthage*, where, after he had been whipp'd, he had his Eyes put out, his Arms and Thighs broken, his Life taken away in the Sight of the People, and his Body, all torn with Scourging, hung from a Gibbet. His Children and all his Relations without any Share in his Guilt had a full one in his Punishment. They were all condemn'd to die, that not one Person of his Race might be left either to imitate his Crime or revenge his Death. Such was the Genius of *Carthage*. Always severe and excessive in her Punishments, she carried them to the extreamest Rigour, by involving the Innocent without any Regard to Equity, Moderation or Gratitude.

I COME

Diod. L. 19. Justin. L. 22. c. 1--6. A. M. 3685. Carth. 564. Rome 429. before Christ 319.

I COME now to the Wars sustain'd by the *Carthaginians* in *Africk* itself, as well as *Sicily*, against *Agathocles*, which gave a long Exercise to their Arms.

THIS *Agathocles* was a *Sicilian*, obscure in his Birth, and low in his Fortune^t. Supported at first by the Power of the *Carthaginians*, he invaded the Sovereignty of *Syracuse*, and became its Tyrant. In the Beginnings of his Power the *Carthaginians* kept him within Bounds, and *Amilcar* their Chief forc'd him into a Treaty which restor'd Peace to *Sicily*. But he stood not long to the Terms of it, and soon declar'd against the *Carthaginians* themselves, who under the Conduct of *Amilcar* obtain'd a signal Victory over

* The Battle was fought near the River and City of Himera.

him *, and oblig'd him to shut himself up in *Syracuse*. The *Carthaginians* pursu'd him thither, and form'd the Siege of that important Place, which, if they cou'd have taken, wou'd have put them into the Possession of all *Sicily*:

AGATHOCLES, who was much inferior to them in Forces, and besides saw himself deserted by all his Allies in Detestation of his strange Cruelties, conceiv'd a Design so daring, and, to all Appearance, impracticable, that even Success cou'd hardly gain it Belief. This Design was no less than to transport the War into *Africk*, and lay Siege to *Carthage*, at a Time when he cou'd neither defend himself in *Sicily*, nor sustain the Siege of *Syracuse*. His profound Secrecy in the Execution is not less astonishing than the Design itself, he communicated his

^t He was the Son of a Potter according to most Historians, but allow'd by all to have wrought at the Trade. From the Obscurity of his Birth and Condition Polybius raises an Argument of his Capacity and Talents, against the Slanders of Timæus. But his greatest Elogy was the Praise of the great Scipio, who to a Que-

stion ask'd, who in his Opinion were the most prudent in the Conduct of Affairs, and most judiciously bold in the Execution of their Designs, answer'd Agathocles and Dionysius. Polyb. l. 15. p. 1003. Edit. Gronov. However, let his Capacity be ever so great, it was still exceeded by his Villanies.

Thoughts

Thoughts on this Affair to no Person whatsoever, but contented himself with declaring that he had found out an infallible Way to free the *Syracusians* from the Danger with which they were compass'd: That they had only to sustain the Inconveniences of a short Siege; but that however he left entire Liberty to those, who cou'd not bring themselves to this Resolution, to depart the City. Only sixteen hundred Persons went out. He left his Brother *Anlander* behind with Forces and Provisions sufficient for a long Defence. He granted Liberty to all Slaves of Age to bear Arms, and, after the Tender of an Oath, joyn'd them to his Forces. He carry'd along with him only fifteen Talents* to supply his present Wants,* well assur'd to find in an Enemy's Country whatever was necessary to his Subsistence. He went off therefore with two of his Sons, *Archagathus* and *Heraclides*, without letting any one know whither he intended his Course. All believ'd, who were aboard his Fleet, that they were to be conducted either to *Italy* or *Sardinia* for Plunder, or to waste those Parts of *Sicily* which belong'd to *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians*, surpriz'd with so unexpected a Departure, put themselves in a Posture to prevent it, but *Agathocles* stole from their Pursuit, and took into the Main. He discover'd not his Design till he was got into *Africk*. There assembling his Troops he laid in few Words his Reasons of this Expedition before them. He represented that the only Way to deliver their Country was to carry the War amongst their Enemies: That he led them inur'd to War, and intrepid in their own Tempers, against Enemies soften'd and enervated with Ease and Luxury: That the Natives of the Country, burden'd with the Yoke of a Servitude equally galling and shameful, wou'd run in Crowds to joyn them on the first News of their Arrival: That the Daringness alone of their Undertaking wou'd disconcert the *Carthaginians*, altogether unprepar'd to receive an Enemy at their Gates: That, in short,



no Enterprize ever promis'd more Advantage and Honour than this; since the whole Wealth of *Carthage* wou'd become the Prey of the Victors, whose Courage wou'd be prais'd and admir'd by all future Ages. The Soldiers believ'd themselves already Masters of *Carthage*, and receiv'd his Speech with Applause and Acclamations. One single Circumstance gave them disquieting Fears, and that was the Eclipse of the Sun happening just as they were departing^u. In those Days even the most civiliz'd People very little understood the Reason of the extraordinary *Phenomena* of Nature, and were accustom'd to draw from them superstitious Conjectures, which their Diviners arbitrarily turn'd to some present Occasion, and suspended or push'd forward the Execution of the greatest Designs by their Interpretations of them. *Agathocles* restor'd the sinking Courage of his Soldiers, by assuring them that these Eclipses always foretold some instant Change: That therefore the Happiness of *Carthage* was taking its leave of that City, and coming over to them.

FINDING his Soldiers in the good Disposition he wish'd for, he executed, almost in the same Time, a second Design more daring and hazardous than even his first of transporting them into *Africk*. This was the burning every Ship of his Fleet. Many Reasons determin'd him to so desperate a Course. He had no good Port in *Africk* to place his Ships in Safety. The *Carthaginians* being Masters of the Sea wou'd not have fail'd to have made themselves immediately Masters of his Fleet, incapable of making any Resistance. If he had left so many Hands as were necessary to secure it, he wou'd have weaken'd his Army, inconsiderable at the best, and incapacitated himself to draw any Advantage from this unexpected

^u Précisément à leur Depart. Justin says, it was whilst they were under Sail; — Navigantibus eis sol defecerat. L. 22.

c. 6. And this is more probable and reconcileable with what follows in the Beginning of the next Paragraph.

Diversion, which depended solely upon a Success, swift and astonishing. Lastly, he was desirous to put his Soldiers under a Necessity of vanquishing, in leaving them no other Refuge but Victory. A great deal of Courage was necessary to work up his Army to such a Resolution. He had brought Officers with him who were intirely devoted to his Service, and receiv'd every Impression which he was pleas'd to give them. In order to this great Design he appear'd suddenly in the Assembly with a Crown upon his Head, a magnificent Habit, and the whole Equipage of a Man who was going to perform some Ceremony of Religion. Then addressing himself to the Assembly, "When, said he, we left *Syracuse*, and were warmly pursu'd by the Enemy, in this fatal Necessity I apply'd to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, the tutelary Divinities of *Sicily*, and engag'd my Promise to them that if they wou'd rescue us from the instant Danger, I wou'd burn all our Ships in Honour of them, on our first Landing on the Coasts of *Africk*. Assist me, my Soldiers, in the Discharge of my Vow, the Goddesses can easily repair the Damage sustain'd by us in such a Sacrifice". At the same time, with a Flambeau in his Hand, he hastily led the Way, and ascending his own Ship set it on Fire. The Officers did the like, and were chearfully follow'd by all the Soldiers. The Trumpets sounded from every Quarter, and the whole Army echo'd with joyful Shouts and Acclamations. The Fleet was immediately consum'd. No Time was left to the Soldiers to reflect on the Proposition made to them. A blind and impetuous Ardour irresistibly drew them after it. But when they had a little recover'd the Use of their Reason, and survey'd, in their Minds, the vast Ocean which separated them from their own Country, they saw themselves in that of the Enemy without Resource, or any Means of escaping out of it. A sad and melancholy Silence immediately succeeded that Transport of Joy, and those Acclamations

ons which had run through the Army so little before.

HERE again *Agathocles* left no Time for Reflection. He led his Army to a Place call'd the *Grand-City*, which was Part of the Domain of *Carthage*. The Country, through which they march'd to this Place, afforded the most delicious and agreeable Prospect in the World. On either side were seen large Meadows wash'd by beautiful Streams, and cover'd with innumerable Flocks of all kinds of Cattle; Country-Seats built with extraordinary Magnificence; fine Avenues planted with Olives and all sorts of Fruit-Trees; Gardens of prodigious Extent, and kept with a Care and an Elegance which gave the Eye a sensible Pleasure. This Prospect reanimated the Soldiers. They march'd full of Courage to the *Grand-City*, which they took Sword in Hand, and enrich'd themselves with the Plunder given entirely up to their Avarice. *Tunis* made but a short Resistance, and lay not far distant from *Carthage*.

THE Alarm there was universal when it was known that the Enemy was in the Country, and advancing with swift Marches. The Arrival of *Agathocles* made the *Carthaginians* conclude that their Army before *Syracuse* had been defeated, and their Navy dispers'd. The People ran in Disorder to the publick Place, the Senate assembled in Haste and Tumult. The Means of saving the City were immediately debated. No Army was in Readiness to oppose the Enemy, and the pressing Danger permitted them not to wait the Arrival of those Forces which might be rais'd in the Country, and from amongst the Allies. It was therefore resolv'd, after several different Opinions had been heard, to arm the Citizens. The Number of the Forces thus levy'd, amounted to forty thousand Foot, a thousand Horse, and two thousand arm'd Chariots. *Hanno* and *Bomilcar* were joyn'd in Command of these Troops, tho' fatally divided betwixt themselves from some Family Quarrels. They march'd immediately to meet the Enemy, and on Sight of
him

him put their Forces in Order of Battle. *Agathocles* had at most but thirteen or fourteen thousand Men in his Army. The Signal was given, and an obstinate Fight ensu'd*. *Hanno* with his *Sacred Cohort* (the Flower of the *Carthaginian* Forces) long sustain'd the Fury of the *Greeks*, and sometimes broke their Ranks. But at last, overwhelm'd with a Tempest of Stones, and all cover'd with Wounds, he fell valiantly fighting. *Bomilcar* might have restored the Day, but he had private and personal Reasons not to procure a Victory for his Country. Therefore he thought it proper to retire with the Forces under his Command, and was follow'd by the whole Army, which saw itself oblig'd to leave the Field to *Agathocles*. He after a short Pursuit of the Enemy return'd, and pillag'd the *Carthaginian* Camp. Twenty thousand Pair of Manacles were found in it, with which the *Carthaginians* had furnished themselves in the Assurance of taking many Prisoners. The Fruit of this Victory was the taking a great Number of Places, and the Revolt of Numbers of *Africans* who joyn'd themselves to the Victor.

THIS Descent of *Agathocles* into *Africk* gave *Sci-Liv. l. 28.*
pio, without doubt, the Thought of making a like ^{n. 43.}
 Attempt upon the same Republick, and from the
 same Place. Wherefore in his Answer to *Fabius*,
 who accus'd of Temerity his Design of transporting
 the War into *Africk*, he forgot not to mention
Agathocles as an Instance in Favour of his Enter-
 prize, and to shew that frequently there is no other
 Means to disengage from an Enemy, who presses close-
 ly upon you, than by carrying the War home to

* *Agathocles* wanting Arms for many of his Soldiers, provided them with such as were counterfeit, which shew'd well at a Distance. And perceiving the Discouragement his Forces shew'd under, on Sight of the Enemy's

Horse, he let fly a great many Owls (privately procur'd for that Purpose) which his Soldiers interpreted as an Omen and Assurance of Victory. *Diod. ad Ann. 3. Olymp. 117.*

him, and that a different Resolution is seen when we act upon the Offensive, from that when we only stand upon the Defensive.

Diod. L. 17. Quint. Curt. l. 4. c. 3. WHILE the *Carthaginians* were thus press'd by their Enemies, they receiv'd an Ambassy from *Tyrus*. It came to implore their Succour against *Alexander the Great*, who was upon the Point of taking their City which he had long besieg'd. The Extremity, to which their Country-men were reduc'd, touch'd the *Carthaginians* as sensibly as their own Danger. Unable to relieve, they thought it was at least their Duty to comfort them, and deputing thirty of their principal Citizens, they, by their Mouths, express'd their Grief that they cou'd spare them no Forces in the present melancholy Posture of their own Affairs. The *Tyrians*, disappointed of the only Hope which they had left, lost not however their Courage. They put their Wives, Children², and old Men into the Hands of their Deputies; and, deliver'd from all farther Inquietude for what they ~~had~~^{held} most dear in the World, they now only thought of making a resolute Defence, prepar'd for the worst that might happen. *Carthage* receiv'd this desolate Company with all possible Marks of Friendship, and pay'd to Guests so dear, and worthy of Compassion, all the Services which they cou'd have expected from the most affectionate and tender Parents.

AT the same time she was solicitous how to extricate her self out of the Difficulties with which she was press'd. The present State of the Republick was regarded as the Effect of the Wrath of the Gods gone out against *Carthage*: And it was acknowledg'd

¹ Some learned Men who remove Agathocles's Tears lower than Alexander, think that this Inability of Carthage to assist their Mother City, ought to be understood of the Disturbances rais'd by her factious Citizen Hanno,

which have been mention'd before. Vide Q. Curt. Edit. Petisc. L. 4. c. 3.

² Ἰὼναι καὶ ἡ γυναῖκαί αὐτῶν, some of their Wives and Children. Diod. L. 17. 41.

to be justly merited, above all from two Divinities to whom she had been wanting in Duties prescrib'd by Religion, and once observ'd with great Exactness. A Custom had prevail'd at *Carthage*, which was coeval with the City itself, to send annually to *Tyrus*, the Mother City; the Tenth of all the Revenues of the Republick, as an Offering to *Hercules*, the Patron and Protector of both *Tyrus* and *Carthage*. The Domain, and consequently the Revenues of *Carthage* having increas'd considerably since a certain Time, the Portion or Share of the God had been lessen'd, and it might well be that he had not a Remittance of the entire Tenth. A Scruple hereupon seiz'd their Minds: They made an open and publick Confession of their ill Faith and sacrilegious Avarice: And in Expiation of their Guilt sent to *Tyrus* a great Number of Presents, and of small Shrines all of Gold, which in Value amounted to a very large Sum.

ANOTHER Violation of Religion, and, to their inhuman Superstition, seeming not less considerable than the former, gave likewise no less Uneasiness to their Minds. Anciently Children of the best Houses of *Carthage* had been sacrific'd to *Saturn*. Here they reproach'd themselves with a Failure of paying to the God the Honours which they thought were due to him; and with Fraud and dishonest Dealing with regard to him, to whom they had substituted in Sacrifice, Children of Slaves or Beggars, bought for that Purpose, in the Room of those which were nobly born. To expiate the Guilt of so strange an Impiety, a Sacrifice was made to the *Bloody God* of two hundred Children of the first Rank; and more than three hundred Persons in a Sense of their horrible Neglect, offer'd themselves voluntarily to Sacrifice, to pacify, in the Effusion of their own Blood, the Wrath of the Gods.

AFTER these Expiations were over, Expresses were dispatch'd to *Amilcar* in *Sicily*, with the News

of what had happen'd in *Africk*, and with a pressing Importunity for immediate Succours. He injoyn'd Silence to the Deputies with regard to the Victory of *Agathocles*, and on the contrary industriously propagated a Report that he had been entirely defeated, his Forces all cut off, and his whole Navy taken by the *Carthaginians*: And in Confirmation of this Report, he shew'd the Irons of the Vessels pretended to be taken, which had been carefully sent to him. The Truth of this Report was not at all doubted of in *Syracuse*: Numbers were for capitulating^z, when a Gallies of thirty Oars, hastily patch'd up by *Agathocles*, arriv'd in the Port, and through great Difficulties and Dangers forc'd its Way to the besieg'd. The News of *Agathocles's* Victory immediately flew through the City, and restor'd new Life and Resolution to the Inhabitants. *Amilcar* made his last Effort to carry the City by Assault, and was beat off with Loss. He immediately rais'd the Siege, and dispatch'd five thousand Men to the Relief of his distress'd Country. Some time after, having return'd to the Siege, and in Hopes of surprizing the *Syracusans* in the Night, his Design was discover'd, and he falling alive into the Enemy's Hands, suffer'd the last Punishment^a. His Head was sent to *Agathocles*, who coming up to the Camp of the Enemies, gave a general Consternation in shewing the Head of this

Diod.libid.

^z And the most forward of all the rest, Anlander the Brother of *Agathocles*, left Commander in his Absence; who was so terrify'd with the Report, that he was eager for having the City surrendered, and expell'd out of it eight thousand Inhabitants who were of a contrary Opinion.

^a He was cruelly tortur'd to Death, and so met with the Fate which his Citizens, offended with

his Conduct in Sicily, had probably destin'd for him at home. He was too formidable for an Attack upon him at the Head of his Army, and therefore the Votes of the Senate, whatever they were, being, according to Custom, cast into a Vessel, it was immediately clos'd up with an Order not to uncover it, till he was return'd, and had thrown up his Commission. Justin. L. 22. c. 3.

Gene-

General, which let them into the melancholy Situation of their Affairs of *Sicily*.

To these foreign Enemies was joyn'd one that was domestick, and more to be fear'd, as more dangerous than the others: This was *Bomilcar* their General, and actually in Possession of the first Magistracy of *Carthage*. He had long dream'd of making himself the Tyrant of *Carthage*, and rising to the Sovereignty of it. He believ'd that the present Troubles offer'd him the wish'd for Opportunity. He enter'd the City with this ambitious View, and, seconded by a small Number of Citizens the Accomplices of his Rebellion, and a Troop of foreign Soldiers, he proclaim'd himself Tyrant, and made it literally true that he was so, in cutting the Throats of all the Citizens, whom he unfortunately met in the Streets. A Tumult immediately rising in the City, it was first thought that the Enemy had got in by some Treachery or other; but when it was known that *Bomilcar* was the Person who caus'd all this Disturbance, the Youth arm'd to repell the Tyrant, and from the Tops of the Houses discharg'd whole Volleys of Darts and Stones upon the Heads of his Men. When he saw an Army marching in good Order against him, he retir'd with his Troop to an Eminence, in the View of making a vigorous Defence, and of selling his Life as dear as he cou'd. To spare the Blood of the Citizens, a general Amnesty was proclaim'd to all who wou'd lay down their Arms. They surrendered upon this Proclamation, and enjoy'd the Benefit of it, all except *Bomilcar* their Chief. He, notwithstanding the general Indemnity promis'd by Oath, was condemn'd to die, and fix'd to a Cross, where he suffer'd the most exquisite Tortures. From his Cross as from a Tribunal, he harangu'd the People, and thought it became him to reproach their Injustice, Ingratitude and Perfidy, which he did in a historical Deduction of so many illustrious Generals, whose Services had been reward-
ed

ed with ignominious Deaths. He expir'd amidst these Reproaches ^b.

AGATHOCLES had engag'd in his Party a powerful King of *Cyrene*, nam'd *Opbellas*, whose Ambition he had flatter'd with magnificent Hopes, and artful Insinuations, that, contenting himself with *Sicily*, he wou'd leave to *Opbellas* the Empire of *Africk*. But as no Crimes stood in the Way of his Ambition and Interest, the credulous Prince had no sooner put himself and his Army in his Power, than, by the blackest Perfidy that ever was, he was murder'd by him, that his Army might be entirely at his own Devotion. Many Nations had embrac'd his Alliance, and several strong Places receiv'd his Garrisons. He now saw the Affairs of *Africk* in a flourishing Condition, and therefore thought those of *Sicily* deserv'd his Regard. He sail'd back thither, and left his *African* Army to the Care of his Son *Archagathus*. His Renown and the Noise of his Victories flew before him. On the News of his Arrival in *Sicily*, many Towns revolted to him, but bad News soon recall'd him to *Africk*. His Abience had given a Change to his Affairs, and all his Arts and Endeavours were incapable to restore them. All his Places had deserted to the Enemy: The *Africans* had quitted his Party: Some of his Troops were lost, and the Remainder unable to make Head against the *Carthaginians*; and which was still worse, he had no means of transporting them into *Sicily*, the Enemy being Masters at Sea, and himself unprovided of Ships: He cou'd hope for neither Peace nor Treaty with the *Barbarians*, whom he had insulted in a Manner so outrageous, as he had first dared to in-

^b It would seem incredible that any Man cou'd so far triumph over the Pains of the Cross, as to talk with any Coherence in his Discourse, had not Seneca assur'd us, that some have so far de-

spis'd and insulted its Tortures, that they have contemptuously spit down upon Spectators. *Quidam ex patibulo suos Spectatores conspuerunt. De vita beata, c. 19.*

vade their Country. In this Extremity, he only thought of providing for his own^c Safety. After a great many Adventures this cowardly Deserter of his Army, and perfidious Betrayer of his own Children, left by him to the Butchery of his disappointed Soldiers, convey'd himself by Flight from the Dangers which hung over him, and with a small Retinue arrived at *Syracuse*. His Soldiers seeing themselves thus betray'd, cut the Throats of his Sons, and surrendered to the Enemy. Himself made a miserable End, and finish'd by a cruel Death^c a Life black with every Crime.

IN this Period may be plac'd another Fact deliver'd by *Justin*. The Noise of *Alexander's* Conquests gave a Fear to the *Carthaginians* that he might think of turning his Arms on the Side of *Africk*. The disastrous Fate of *Tyrus*, from which they drew their Origin, lately laid in Rubbish by him; the Building of *Alexandria* upon the Confines of *Africk* and *Egypt*, as if he intended it a Rival City to *Carthage*; the uninterrupted Successes of this Prince, who put no Bounds either to his Ambition or good Fortune; all this gave just Alarms to the *Carthaginians*. To sound his Inclinations, *Amilcar*, firnam'd *Rhodanus*, pretending an Expulsion from his Country by the successful Intrigues of his Enemies, went to the Camp of *Alexander* to whom he was introduc'd by *Parmenio*, and made him the Offer of his Services. The King receiv'd him graciously, and had several Conferences with him. *Amilcar* was not wanting to transmit to his Country what-

^c He was poison'd by one *Mænon* whom he had unnaturally abus'd. His Teeth putrify'd by the Force of the Poison, and his Body was all over torn with the most racking Pains. *Mænon* was incited to this Fact by *Archagathus*, Grandson of *Agathocles*, whom he had a Design to defeat

of the Succession in Favour of his other Son *Agathocles*. Before his Death he restor'd the Democracy to the People. It is observable that *Justin* (or rather *Trogus*) and *Diodorus* disagree in all the material Parts of this Tyrant's History.

ever Discoveries he made of *Alexander's* Designs. Nevertheless on his Return to *Carthage*, after the Death of *Alexander*, he was treated as a Betrayer of his Country to that Prince, and put to Death by a Sentence which display'd equally the Ingratitude and Cruelty of his Country-men.

Polyb. 1.3.
p. 250.
Edit.
Gronov.
A. M.
1723.
Carth.
502.
Rome 467.
before
Christ 281.

I AM next to speak of the Wars wag'd by the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, in the Time of *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*. The *Romans*, to whom the Designs of that ambitious Prince were not unknown, to strengthen themselves against any Attempts he might make upon *Italy*, had renew'd their Treaties with the *Carthaginians*, who on their Side were no less apprehensive of his passing into *Sicily*. To the Conditions of preceding Treaties, was added an Engagement of mutual Assistance in case either of the contracting Powers should be attack'd by *Pyrrhus*.

Justin.
18. c. 2.

THE Foresight of the *Romans* was not disappointed. *Pyrrhus* turn'd his Arms against *Italy*, and won many Victories. The *Carthaginians*, in consequence of the last Treaty, thought themselves oblig'd to assist the *Romans*, and accordingly sent them a Fleet of sixscore Sail under the Command of *Mago*. This General, in an Audience before the Senate, signified to 'em the Share his Masters had in the War, which they had learn'd was carrying on against *Rome*, and offer'd her their Assistance. The Senate return'd Thanks for the obliging Offer of the *Carthaginians*, but at present thought fit to decline it.

Ibid.

MAGO some Days after, repair'd to *Pyrrhus*, under Colour of offering the Mediation of *Carthage* for the terminating his Quarrel with the *Romans*, but in reality to sound him, and feel what were his Inclinations towards *Sicily*, which common Fame reported him upon the Point of invading. They fear'd equally the meddling of either *Pyrrhus* or the *Romans* in the Affairs of that Isle, and that one or both

both might have it in their Thoughts to transport Forces for the Conquest of it. And in effect the *Syracusians*, besieged for some time backwards by the *Carthaginians*, had sent pressing for Assistance to *Pyrrhus*. This Prince had a particular Reason to espouse their Interests, having married *Lanassa*, Daughter of *Agathocles*, by whom he had a Son nam'd *Alexander*. He sail'd at last from *Tarentum*, pass'd the *Strait*, and arriv'd in *Sicily*. His Conquests at first were so rapid, that he had left the *Carthaginians* only the single Town of *Lilybæum*, in the whole Island. He laid Siege to it, but meeting with a vigorous Resistance, was obliged to break up; and moreover the pressing Necessity of his own Affairs call'd him back to *Italy*, where his Presence was absolutely necessary. Nor was it less so in *Sicily*, which on his Departure return'd to the Obedience of its old Masters. Thus he lost this Isle with the same Rapidity that he gain'd it. As he was embarking, turning his Eyes back to *Sicily*; ^a *What a* Plut. in *fine Field of Battle*, said he to those about him, *do* Pyrrho. *we leave to the Carthaginians and Romans!* His Prediction was soon verif'd.

AFTER his Departure, the first Magistracy of *Syracuse* was conferred on *Hiero*, who afterwards obtain'd the Name and Dignity of King, from the united Suffrages of his Citizens, so easy and obliging had his Government been. He was intrusted with the Charge of the War against the *Carthaginians*, and obtain'd several Advantages over them. His common Interests reunited them against a new Enemy, who began to lift up his Head in *Sicily*, and gave both of 'em just Alarms: These were the

^a Οἷαν ἀπολείπομεν, ὠφίλοι, Καρχηδονίοις ἢ Ῥωμαίοις παλαίσειν. The Greek Word is *fine*. Indeed *Sicily* was a *Sum of Palæstra* where the *Carthaginians* and *Romans* exercised themselves in

the Trade of War, and for many Tears seem'd to play the Part of able Wrestlers one against the other. The English Language equally with the French wants a Word to express the Greek.

Romans

Romans, who, disengag'd from all Enemies which had hitherto exercised their Arms in *Italy* it self, saw themselves now in a Condition to carry them out of it, and to lay the Foundation of that vast Dominion which they afterwards rose to, and of which it was probable they had even then conceiv'd the Idea, and form'd the Design. *Sicily* lay too convenient for them to be overlook'd in the Views of raising their Empire. They eagerly snatch'd an Occasion, favourable to their passing into this Isle, which then offer'd it self, and caused their Rupture with the *Carthaginians*, and gave Rise to the first *Punick* War. This I shall handle more at large, by giving my Reader the Causes of this War.

C H A P. II.

The HISTORY of CARTHAGE, from the first Punick War to its Destruction.

THE Plan laid down by me for the Prosecution of this History, allows me not to enter into an exact Detail of the Wars between *Rome* and *Carthage*, as the *Roman* History is rather concern'd here, which I shall only transiently and occasionally touch upon. My Business is to exhibit such Facts, as may give my Reader a just Idea of the Republick whose History lies before me, which may be done by confining my self to Things principally regarding the *Carthaginians* themselves, as their Transactions in *Sicily*, *Spain* and *Africk*, which however are sufficiently extensive.

I HAVE already remark'd, that a hundred twenty-five Years from the first *Punick* War, finished the Ruin of *Carthage*. This whole Time may be divided into five Parts or Intervals.

- I. THE first *Punick* War lasted twenty-four } 24
Years.
- II. THE Interval betwixt the first and }
second *Punick* War is likewise twenty- } 24
four Years.
- III. THE second *Punick* War lasted } 17
seventeen Years.
- IV. THE Interval between the second and }
the third is fifty-five Years. } 55
- V. THE third *Punick* War, terminated by }
the Destruction of *Carthage*, only con- } 5
tinued five Years, or a little more

125

The FIRST ARTICLE.

The first *Punick* War.

THE first *Punick* War arose from this Occa-
sion. Some *Campanian* Solders, in the Pay of
Agathocles, Tyrant of *Sicily*, having entered as Friends
into the Town of *Messina*, soon after cut the Throats
of one Part of the Towns-men, drove out the rest,
married their Wives, seiz'd their Effects, and re-
main'd sole Masters of this important Place. They
assumed the Name of *Mamertines*. After their Ex-
ample, and by their Assistance, a *Roman* Legion
treated in the same manner the Town of *Rhegium*,
lying directly opposite to *Messina* on the other Side
of the *Strait*. These two perfidious Towns mutu-
ally supporting one another, became at last formida-
ble to their Neighbours, chiefly *Messina*, which
being very potent gave a great deal of Uneasiness,
as well to the *Syracusians* as the *Carthaginians*, who
were Masters of one Part of *Sicily*: After the *Ro-*
mans saw themselves free'd from the Enemies, which
they had so long had upon their Hands in *Italy*, and

A. M. 3762	Earth	646	Rome 511	above 266
3738		628		
24		18	23	A. C. 222

above all from *Pyrrhus*, they began to think it Time to call their Citizens to account, who had establish'd themselves at *Rhegium* in a manner so perfidious and cruel. They took the City, and killed in the Attack the greatest part of the Inhabitants, who arm'd with Despair fought it out to the last Gasp. Three hundred only were left, who were conducted to *Rome*, whipp'd, and then publicly beheaded in the *Forum*. The View which the *Romans* had from this bloody Execution, was to give their Allies a Conviction of their own Sincerity and Innocence. *Rhegium* was immediately restored to its legitimate Masters. The *Mamertines*, considerably weakened as well by the Fall of an allied City, as by the Losses sustain'd from the *Syracusians* who had lately put *Hiero* at their Head, thought it Time to provide for their own Safety. But Division arising amongst them, one Part surrendered the Citadel to the *Carthaginians*, the other called in the *Romans* to their Assistance, and resolv'd to put them in Possession of their City.

Polyb. l. 1. THE Affair was debated in the *Roman Senate*,
 p. 12, 13, where it was view'd in all its Appearances, and
 14, 15. presented considerable Difficulties. On one hand it
 Edit. appear'd base and altogether unworthy the *Roman*
 Gronov. Virtue, to undertake openly the Defence of Traitors; whose Perfidy was exactly the same with that of the *Rhegians* whom they had punished with so exemplary a Severity. On the other hand it was of the last Consequence to stop the Progress of the *Carthaginians*, who, not content with their Conquests in *Africk* and *Spain*, had moreover rendered themselves Masters of almost all the Isles of the *Sardinian* and *Etrurian* Seas, and would certainly get all *Sicily* into their Hands, if they were suffer'd to become Masters of *Messina*. From thence into *Italy* the Passage was very short, and it was in some sort to invite an Enemy to come over, thus to open an Entry to him. These Reasons, strong as they
 were

were, could not bring the Senate to a Resolution of declaring in Favour of the *Mamertines*, and Motives of Honour and Justice carried it over those of Interest and Policy. But the People were not so scrupulous. And in an Assembly held upon this Subject, it was resolved that the *Mamertines* should be reliev'd. The Consul *Appius Claudius* immediately set forward with his Army, and cross'd boldly the Strait, after he had by an ingenious Stratagem eluded Frontitt. the Vigilance of the *Carthaginian* General. The *Carthaginians*, partly by Art and partly by Force, were drawn out of the Citadel, and the City by this Means put intirely into the Hands of the Consul. The *Carthaginians* hang'd their General for having so tamely surrendered the Citadel, and prepared to besiege the Town with all their Forces. *Hiero* join'd 'em with his own. But the Consul having defeated 'em separately, rais'd the Siege, and ravaged at Pleasure the Neighbouring Country, the Enemy not daring to look him in the Face. This was the first Expedition which the *Romans* made out of *Italy*.

IT is doubted * whether the Motives which determined the *Romans* to this Expedition, were very upright, and exactly conformable to the Rules of strict Justice. However this be, their Passage into *Sicily*, and the Succour given by them to the Inhabitants of *Messina* were, one may say, the first Steps which conducted them upwards to that Elevation of Glory and Grandeur to which they afterwards arriv'd.

HIERO having made up his Difference with p. 21: the *Romans*, and entered into an Alliance with them, the *Carthaginians* turn'd their whole Aims to *Sicily*, and sent into it numerous Armies. *Agrigentum* was the Magazine of their Arms, which, attack'd by the *Romans*, was carried by them after a Siege of severl Months, and the gaining of one Battle.

* The Chevalier Follard examines this Question in his Remarks upon Polybius, b. i. p. 16.

p. 27, 28,
29.

THE Advantage of this Victory, and the Conquest of so important a Place did not satisfy the *Romans*. They were sufficiently apprehensive, that while the *Carthaginians* continued Masters at Sea, the Maritime Places in the Isle would always declare for them, and put it out of their Power ever to drive them out of *Sicily*. Besides, they could not with any Patience see *Africk* in the Enjoyment of a profound Tranquillity, while *Italy* was infested by so many Incurfions of her Enemies. They therefore first conceiv'd the Design of building a Navy, and of disputing the Empire of the Sea with the *Carthaginians*. The Undertaking was bold, and in Appearance rash; but it display'd the Courage and the Grandeur of the *Roman* Genius. *Rome* was not then Mistress of one single Sloop, which she could call her own, and the Ships which had wasted over her Forces into *Sicily* were borrow'd of her Neighbours. She had no Experience in Sea Affairs, was destitute of Carpenters for the building of Ships, and knew nothing of the *Quinquereme* or five-oar'd Gallies, which at that Time made the Strength of Navies. But happily the Year before one had been taken upon the Coasts of *Italy*, which serv'd for a Model to build others by. The *Romans* therefore applied themselves with Ardour and incredible Industry to build Ships of the same Form, and in the mean time got together a Set of Rowers, who were form'd to a Work utterly unknown to them before in the following Manner. Banks were contriv'd on the Shore of the same Order and Fashion with those in Gallies. The Rowers were placed upon these Banks, and accustomed, as if they had been furnished with Oars, to throw themselves backwards with their Arms drawn to their Breasts, then again to throw their Bodies and Arms forwards in one regular Motion, and in the Instant that their commanding Officer gave the Signal. In the Space of two Months, one hundred five-oar'd, and twenty three-oar'd Gallies

were

were built, and after some Time bestow'd in exercising the Rowers on Shipboard, the Fleet put to Sea, and went in Quest of the Enemy. It had *Duilius* for its Admiral.

THE Romans coming up with the *Carthaginians* p. 32 near the Shore of *Myla*, they prepar'd for an Engagement. As the *Roman Gallies* heavily and hastily built were neither very nimble, nor easy to manage, this Inconvenience was supplied by a Machine * of a sudden Invention, and afterwards known by the Name of the *Crow*, by the Help of which they p. 31 grappled the Enemy's Ship, boarded it, and immediately came to handy Strokes. The Signal for engaging was given. The *Carthaginian Fleet* consisted of one hundred and thirty Sail under the Conduct of *Hannibal* *. His own Vessel was a Galley of seven * A different Person from the great Hannibal, Banks of Oars, which had once belong'd to *Pyrrhus*. The *Carthaginians*, full of Contempt of an Enemy so utterly unacquainted with Sea Affairs, that they imagined their very Appearance would put him to

* Polybius gives us a labour'd Description of this Machine; there are several sorts of it. Mr Follard's Dissertation upon it may be consulted, b. 1. p. 83, &c. I shall venture to give the Reader an Idea of this terrible Engine, without scrupulously translating the Words of Polybius, which have some Difficulty relating to the Length and Thickness of the upright Piece of Timber, the Greek Words to denote that Length and Thickness not being, I think, exactly understood by the learned, or reconcileable with the Ideas of one another. To come to the Engine it self. A long Piece of Timber stood erected on the Prow of the Ship with a Pully on the Top of it. An oblong Stage of Boards well fasten'd with

Iron mov'd round it, by the help of Rings fix'd to Iron Palisado's on either Side of this Stage, which were rais'd Knee high, and by their Rings ty'd to the Pully at the Top, drew up or let down this Stage at Pleasure. The Entrance into it was at the End which was open, and in Engagements when the Ships grappled, and swung Broadside to Broadside, the Men threw themselves over the Sides or Parapets amongst the Enemy. When the Attack was upon the Bow of the Enemy's Ship, this Engine shot out its Men two by two, who always kept the Passage clear for the rest to follow; those, not yet out, descending the Sides or Parapets with the Bosses of their Bucklers rais'd above them.

Flight, came boldly on, with little Expectation of fighting, but a great one of reaping the Spoils which their greedy Hopes had already devour'd. They were nevertheless a little shock'd with the Sight of the Engines just mention'd rais'd upon the Prow of every Ship of the Enemy, ~~and~~ and entirely new to them. But their Astonishment increased, when they saw these Engines drop down at once, and forcibly thrown into their Vessels, grapple them in spite of all Resistance. This changed the Face of the Engagement, and oblig'd the *Carthaginians* to come to handy Strokes with their Enemies, as if they had fought them on firm Land. They could not sustain the *Roman* Attack; a horrible Slaughter ensued; the *Carthaginians* lost fourscore Vessels, amongst which was the Admiral's Galley, he himself with difficulty escaping in a small Boat.

A VICTORY so considerable, and so little look'd for, rais'd the Courage of the *Romans*, and seem'd to have redoubled their Strength for the Continuance of the War. Extraordinary Honours were heap'd upon *Duillius*, who, first of all the *Romans*, had a Naval Triumph decreed him. Besides which, a Rostral Pillar was erected in Honour of him, with a fine Inscription, which Pillar is to this Day standing in *Rome* ^a.

p. 36. DURING the two following Years the *Romans* grew gradually stronger at Sea, by several Engagements follow'd with a happy Success. These Succettes were only regarded by them as Essays and Preparatives to their great and meditated Design of carrying the War into *Africk*, and falling upon the *Carthaginians* in their own Country. No Apprehension terrify'd the latter more than this; and to divert so dangerous

^a These Pillars were called *Rostratae* from the Beaks of Ships with which they were adorn'd.

a Blow, they resolv'd to come to an Engagement whatever might be the Consequence.

THE Romans had created *M. Atilius Regulus*; and *P. 37.*
L. Manlius their Consuls for this Year. Their Fleet consisted of three hundred and thirty Vessels, which carried one hundred and forty thousand Men, each Vessel having on board three hundred Rowers, and a hundred and twenty Soldiers. That of the *Carthaginians*, commanded by *Hanno* and *Hamilcar*, had twenty Vessels more than the *Romans*, and proportionably a greater Number of Men. The two Fleets came in Sight of each other. No Man could behold two such formidable Navies and Armies, or be a Spectator of the extraordinary Preparations for an Engagement, without having some Concern on Sight of the Danger which hung over the two most puissant States in the World. As the Courage on both Sides was equal; and the Forces not much unequal, the Fight was obstinate, and the Success long doubtful; but at last the *Carthaginians* were overcome. More than sixty of their Ships fell into the Enemy's Hand, and thirty were sunk. The *Romans* lost twenty-four, of which not one was taken by the Enemy.

THE Fruit of this Victory, as the *Romans* had *p. 41.*
 design'd it should, was the Sailing into *Africk*, after they had refitted their Ships, and provided them with all Necessaries for the supporting a long War in a foreign Country. They landed successfully in *Africk*, and began the War by rendering themselves Masters of a Town named *Clypea*, which had a commodious Haven. From thence, after an Express sent to *Rome* to give Advice of their Disembarkation, and to receive the Orders of the Senate, they over-ran the Low Country, in which they made terrible Havock, brought back Flocks of Cattle, and twenty thousand Prisoners.

THE Express return'd in the mean time with the Orders of the Senate, which were, that *Regulus* should

should continue to command the Armies in *Africk*, with the Title of Proconsul, and that his Colleague should return with a great Part of the Fleet and Forces, leaving only to *Regulus* forty Vessels, fifteen thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. This was a visible Renunciation of the Advantages which might have been expected from this Descent upon *Africk*, thus to leave *Regulus* almost stripped of Ships and Forces.

P. 43.

REGULUS, after he had taken several Castles, form'd the Siege of *Adis*, one of the strongest Places of the Country. The *Carthaginians*, not able to bear the Sight of an Enemy thus ravaging their Lands at Pleasure, at last took the Field, and march'd against him, to oblige him to raise the Siege. With this Design they posted themselves upon a Hill, which overlook'd the *Roman* Camp, and was convenient to annoy the Enemy, but by its Situation useless to one Part of their Army. For the Strength of the *Carthaginians* lay chiefly in their Horses and Elephants, which are of no Service but in the *Champaign*. *Regulus* gave 'em no Opportunity to descend from the Hill, but making Advantage of so essential a Mistake committed by the *Carthaginian* Generals, fell upon them in this Post, and, after a feeble Resistance made by the Enemy, put them to Flight, pillaged their Camp, and wasted the adjacent Countries. Then having taken *Tunis*^b, an important

^b In the Interval betwixt the Departure of *Manlius*, and the taking of *Tunis*, we are to place the memorable Encounter of *Regulus* and his whole Army, with a Serpent so prodigious, that the fabulous one of *Cadmus* is hardly a Match for him. The Story of this Serpent was elegantly told by *Livy*, but is now lost.

Valerius Maximus however in part repairs that Loss, and in his first Book, last Chapter, gives us this Account of the Monster from *Livy* himself—He [*Livy*] says, that on the Banks of *Bagrada*, an African River, lay a Serpent of so enormous a Size, that he kept the whole Roman Army from coming to the River. Several Sol-

diers

portant Place, and which brought him near to Carthage, he there form'd his Camp.

THE Alarm was extreme amongst the Enemy, p. 45. Every Thing thus far had succeeded ill with them, their Forces had been defeated by Sea and Land, and more than two hundred Places had surrendered to the Conqueror. Besides all this, the Numidians committed greater Waste upon their Territories than the Romans. They expected every Moment to see their Capital besieged. And their Trouble was still augmented by the Concourse of Peasants with their Wives and Children, from all Parts, to Carthage for Safety, which gave them melancholy Apprehensions of a Famine in Case of a Siege. Regulus, afraid of having the Glory of his happy Success ravished from him by a Successor, made some Proposals of an Accommodation with the vanquished Enemy, but the Terms were so hard, that they could not listen to them. As if he was already assured of Carthage, he dropp'd nothing of his Demands, but by an Infatuation, which is almost the inseparable Attendance on great and unexpected Success, he treated them with Haughtiness, and pretended that every Thing left by him in their Possession, ought to be esteem'd a Favour, with this Insult thrown in, *That they ought either to overcome like brave Men, or learn to submit to the Victor* ^b. A Treatment so harsh and

diers had been buried in the wide Caverns of his Belly, several press'd to Death in the spiral Volumes of his Tail. His Skin was impenetrable to Darts, and it was with repeated Endeavours that Stones, slung from Military Engines, at last stretch'd him dead, a Sight more terrible to the Roman Cohorts and Legions than even Carthage her self. The Streams of the River were dy'd with his Blood, and the Stench of his putrify'd Carcase, infecting the ad-

jacent Country, obliged the Roman Army to discamp. His Skin one hundred and twenty ~~feet~~ long was sent to Rome, and, by the Testimony of Pliny, with the Jaw-bone of the same Monster, was to be seen in the Temple where they were first deposited, as low down as the Numantin War.

^b Δεί τὸς ἀγαθὸς ἢ πικρὸν, ἢ αἰεὶ τοῖς ὑπερχουσι, Diod. Eclog. l. 23. c. 10.

disdainful only fired their Resentment, and brought them to a Resolution of perishing rather with Arms in their Hands, than of doing any Thing below the Dignity of *Carthage*.

REDUCED to this fatal Extremity, they receiv'd just in Season a Reinforcement of Auxiliary Troops out of *Greece*, with *Xantippus* the *Lacedemonian* at the Head of them, who had been educated in the Discipline of *Sparta*, and taught the Art of War in that renown'd and excellent School. When he had heard the Circumstances of the last Battle related to him at his own Desire, seen clearly the Occasion of its Loss, and perfectly understood wherein lay the Strength of *Carthage*, he said aloud, and often repeated it, in the hearing of other Officers, that the Misfortunes of the *Carthaginians* were owing merely to the Incapacity of their Generals. These Discourses came at last to the Ears of the publick Council, which was struck with them, and requested the Favour of seeing and talking with him. He brought Reasons so strong and convincing in support of his Opinion, that the Oversights committed by the Generals became sensible to every body; and he let the Council as clearly see, that a Conduct opposite to the former would not only secure their Dominions, but drive the Enemy out of them. This Discourse renew'd the Courage and Hopes of the *Carthaginians*. *Xantippus* was intreated, and, in some Sense, forced to accept the Command of the Army. When the *Carthaginians* saw his Exercise of their Forces, the manner in which he rang'd them for Battle, their advancing or retreating on the first Signal, their filing off with such Order and Ease; in one word, their Counter-marches and Motions in the whole Military Science, they were struck with Astonishment, and own'd that the ablest Generals which *Carthage* had hitherto seen, knew nothing when compar'd with *Xantippus*.

OFFICERS,

OFFICERS, Soldiers, all were lost in Admiration, and, what is very uncommon, Jealousy gave no Allay to it, the Fear of the present Danger, and the Love of their Country stifling, without all doubt, all other Sentiments. To the sad Consternation, which had before run through all the Army, succeed Joy and Alacrity. The Soldiers cried out with Impor-tunity to be led against the Enemy, in the Assu-rance, they said, of Victory under their new Leader, and of effacing the Disgrace of former Defeats. *Xantippus* suffer'd not their Ardour to cool. The Sight of the Enemy only increased it. When he was within little more than twelve hundred Paces of the Enemy, he thought fit to call a Council of War, to shew a Respect to the *Carthaginian* Generals, by consulting with them. All unanimously referred to his Opinion, and it was resolv'd to give the En-emy Battle the Day following.

THE *Carthaginian* Army consisted of twelve thousand Foot, four thousand Horse, and about a hundred Elephants. That of the *Romans*, as near as may be guess'd from what went before, had fif-teen thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, for *Polybius* gives us no determined Number.

IT is worth one's while to see Armies like these engaged, which are not over-charged with Number, but compos'd of brave Soldiers commanded by as able Generals. In those tumultuous Actions, where two or three hundred thousand are engaged on both Sides, Confusion is undeniable, and it is difficult, through a thousand Events where Chance ordinarily seems to have the Advantage of Counsel, to discover the true Merit of Commanders, and the real Causes of the Victory. But in such Engagements as this before us, nothing escapes the Curiosity of the Reader, who sees clearly the Disposition of the two Armies, who fancies he almost hears the Orders given by the Generals, who follows the whole Move-ment and Steps of the Army, who has, as one may say,

say, his Eye and his Finger upon the Faults of both Sides, and thus is qualified to determine with certainty to what Course the Victory or Defeat are owing. The Success of this Action, inconsiderable as it may appear from the small Number of the Combatants, was nevertheless to decide the Fate of *Carthage*.

THIS was the Arrangement and Description of both Armies. *Xantippus* drew up all his Elephants in Front. Behind these, at some distance, he placed the *Carthaginian* Battalions in one Body or Phalanx. The foreign Troops in the *Carthaginian* Pay were placed one part of them on the right between the Phalanx and the Horse, and the other compos'd of light-armed Men fought in Platoons at the Head of the two Wings of the Cavalry. On the Side of the *Romans*, as the Elephants gave the greatest Terror, *Regulus*, to guard against this Inconvenience, order'd his light-armed Soldiers to march advanced in the Front of the Legions. In the Rear of these, he placed the Cohorts one behind another, and the Horse on the Wings. In thus straightening the Front of his Battle to give it more Depth, he took just Measures, says *Polybius*, against the Shock of the Elephants, but he provided no Remedy for the Inequality of his Cavalry, which was much inferior in Number to that of the Enemy.

THE two Armies thus drawn up only waited the Signal. *Xantippus* order'd the Elephants to advance to break the Ranks of the Enemy, and the two Wings of the Cavalry to surround and attack the *Romans* in the Flank. The *Romans* at the same time clashing their Arms, and shouting after the Manner of their Country, advanc'd against the *Carthaginians*. Their Cavalry stood not the Charge long, being so much inferior to that of the Enemy. The Infantry in the left Wing, to avoid the Shock of the Elephants, and to shew how little they fear'd the Mercenaries in the right Wing of the Enemy, attack'd,

put

put them to Flight, and pursu'd them to their Retrenchments; those who first were oppos'd to the Elephants were disorder'd, broken and trodden under Foot after they had acquitted themselves like brave Men: The Body of the Battalion stood firm for some Time, by reason of its great Depth. But the Rear being attack'd in Flank by the Cavalry of the Enemy, and oblig'd to face about and receive it; and those who had broke through the Elephants, encountering the fresh Battalion of the *Carthaginians*, which receiv'd them in good Order, the *Romans* were on all sides routed and entirely defeated: The greatest Part of them were crush'd to Death by the enormous Weight of the Elephants: The Remainder standing in their Ranks, were shot through and through with Arrows from the Horse of the Enemy. A small Number fled, but were an easy Prey to the Horse and Elephants pursuing them in a level Country. Five hundred, or about that Number, flying with *Regulus*, were made Prisoners with him.

THE *Carthaginians* lost on this Occasion eight hundred Mercenaries who were oppos'd to the left Wing of the *Romans*, and of the latter only two thousand escap'd, who pursuing the right Wing of the Enemy, had drawn themselves out of the Engagement. All the rest, *Regulus* and those taken with him excepted, remain'd dead upon the Field. The two thousand who had escap'd the Slaughter retir'd to *Clupea*, and were sav'd almost by Miracle.

THE *Carthaginians*, after they had stripp'd the Dead, entered *Carthage* in Triumph, attended by the unfortunate *Regulus* and five hundred Prisoners. Their Joy was so much the greater, as but a very few Days before they had seen themselves upon the Brink of Ruin. Men and Women, old and young, fill'd the Temples to return Thanks to the immortal Gods, and several Days were wholly given up to Feasts and Rejoycing.

XANTIPPUS, whose Share in this happy Change had been so considerable, wisely withdrew and disappear'd shortly after, in the Apprehension that his Glory hitherto entire and un sullied, might, after this first Glare of it, gradually die away, and leave him expos'd to the Darts of Envy and Calumny always dangerous, but most so in a foreign Country where he stood single, unsupported by Friends, Relations and all other Succour.

POLYBIUS says that his Departure was differently related, and promises to take Notice of it in another Place: But that Part of his History is not come down to us. We read in *Appian*, that the *6. Carthaginians*, incited by a low and black jealousy of the Glory of *Xantippus*, and uneasy under the Thought that they shou'd stand indebted to *Sparta* for their Safety, made a Shew indeed of conducting him and his Attendants back with Honour to his own Country by a numerous Convoy of Vessels; but gave a private Order to put them all to Death by the Way: As if they cou'd with him have for ever buried in the Waves, the Memory of his Services, and their black Ingratitude to him ^k.

THIS Battle, says *Polybius*, though less considerable than so many others, is full of wholesome Instruc-

^k This perfidious Act, as it is related by *Appian*, may possibly be true, considering the Character of the Carthaginians, who were certainly a cruel and treacherous People. But if it is true, one wou'd wonder why *Polybius* shou'd reserve for another Occasion, a Recital which comes in most properly here, as it finishes at once the Character and Life of *Xantippus*. His Silence therefore in this Place inclines me to believe that he intended to bring *Xantippus* again upon the Stage, and exhibit him

to the Reader in a different Light from that wherein he is plac'd by *Appian*. To which let me add, that it shew'd no great Depth of Policy in the Carthaginians to take this Method of dispatching him, when so many others offer'd less liable to Censure. In this Scheme form'd for his Destruction, not only he but all his Followers were to be murder'd, without the Pretence of a Tempest, or Loss of one single Man of the Carthaginians to cover or excuse the Perpetration of so foul a Crime.

tions,

tions which are the chief Design, and the great Benefit receiv'd from the reading of Histories.

FIRST ought any Man to put a Confidence in present Happiness, after he has consider'd the Fate of *Regulus*? That General, insolent with Victory, and inexorable to the vanquish'd, and almost deaf to all their Remonstrances, saw himself a few Days after vanquish'd by them and made their Prisoner. *Hannibal* offer'd the same Reflection to *Scipio*, when he desir'd him not to be dazled with the happy Success of his Arms. *Regulus*, said he, wou'd have been recorded amongst the few Instances of Valour and Happiness, had he, after the Victory obtain'd in this very Country, granted to our Fathers the Peace which they su'd for. But putting no Bounds to his Happiness and his dazzling Fortune, he fell with a Shame so much the more mortifying, as he had been more elate with present Happiness and future Prospects¹.

IN the second Place, the Verity of that Saying of *Euripides*, is here seen in its full Extent, *That one wise Council is worth a great many Hands*^m. One single Man here gave a new Face to Affairs. On one hand, he defeated Troops which were believ'd

¹ Inter pauca felicitatis virtutisque exempla M. Atilius quondam in hac eadem terra fuisset, si victor pacem petentibus dedisset patribus nostris. Sed non statuendo tandem felicitati modum nec cohibendo efferentem se fortunam, quanto altius elatus erat eo scedius corruit. *Liv. L. 30. n. 30.*

^m Ὡς ἐν σοφὸν βέλευμα τὰς πόλλας χεῖρας, νικᾷ. It will not be improper in this Place (as it was forgot before) to take Notice of a Mistake of the learned *Casaubon* in his Translation of a Passage of *Polybius* relating to *Xantippus*. The Passage is this,

Ἐν οἷς ἢ Σπάρτιω πόν τινα Λακεδαιμόνιον ἄνδρα τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀγωγῆς μετεχικότα, ἢ τρεῖβῶν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔχοντα συμμετρῶν. Thus rendered by *Casaubon*. In queis [militibus sc. Græcia allatis] *Xantippus* quidam fuit Lacedæmonius vir disciplina Lacedæmonia imbutus, & qui rei militaris usum mediocrem habebat. Whereas, agreeably with the whole Character and Conduct of *Xantippus*, I take the Sense of this Passage to be, a Man form'd by the Spartan Discipline, and proportionably [not moderately] skilful in military Affairs.

invincible;

invincible; on the other, he reanimated a dishearten'd City and a spiritless Army.

THESE, as *Polybius* observes, are the Uses which ought to be made of reading his Writings. For there being two Ways of receiving Advantage and Instruction, one by our own Experience, and one by that of other Men's, it is a great deal more wise and advantageous to gain Experience by other Men's Mis-carriages than our own.

I RETURN to *Regulus*, that I may here at once finish what relates to him, of whom *Polybius*, to our great Disappointment, takes no farther Noticeⁿ.

After

ⁿ. This Silence of *Polybius* has prejudic'd a great many learned Men against the Stories told of *Regulus's* barbarous Treatment after he was taken by the Carthaginians. Mr. Rollin says no more of this Matter, and therefore I shall give my Reader the Substance of what is brought against the general Belief of the Roman Writers, as well Historians, as Poets, and of Appian on this Subject. First it is urg'd that *Polybius* well knew the Story of these Cruelties to be false, and therefore, not to disoblige the Romans by contradicting so general a Belief, chose to be rather silent of *Regulus* after he was taken, than violate the Truth of History of which he was so exact an Observer. This Opinion is strengthen'd, say the Adversaries of this Belief, secondly by a Fragment of *Diodorus*, which says that the Wife of *Regulus*, taking ill the Death of her Husband at Carthage, occasion'd as she thought by ill Usage, persuaded her Sons to revenge the Fate of their Fa-

ther by the barbarous Treatment of two Carthaginian Captives (thought to be *Boftar* and *Hamilcar* taken in the Sea-fight against Sicily, after the Misfortune of *Regulus*, and) put into her Hands for the Redemption of her Husband. One of these dy'd by the Severity of his Prison, and the other by the Care of the Senate, detesting the Cruelty, surviv'd and was recover'd to Health. This Treatment of the Captives, and the Resentment of the Senate upon it, found a third Argument or Presumption against the Truth of this Story of *Regulus*, which is thus urg'd. *Regulus* dying in his Captivity by an ordinary Distemper, his Wife, thus frustrated of her Hopes to redeem him by Exchange with her Captives, treated them with the utmost Barbarity, in consequence of her Belief of the ill Usage receiv'd by *Regulus*. The Senate hereupon being angry with her, she, to give some Colour to her Cruelties, reported amongst her Acquaintance and Kinred, that her Husband dy'd in the Way generally

After he had been detain'd some Years in Prison, Appian. he was sent to *Rome* to propose an Exchange of *de Bello* Prisoners. He had been oblig'd to take an Oath *Punico,* that he wou'd return in case he prov'd unsuccessful. *p. 4, 5, 6.* He laid before the Senate the Subject of his Voy- *Cic. de Off.* age, and, invited by them to give his Opinion freely, *n. 99, 100.* he answer'd that he could no longer do it as a Sena- *Aul. Gel.* tor, having lost that Quality, as well as that of be- *L. 6. c. 4.* ing a *Roman* Citizen, since the Time that he had *Senec. Ep.* fallen into the Hands of his Enemies: But he re- *98. l. 16.* fus'd not to give his Thoughts as a private Person. The Conjunction was delicate. All the World was touch'd with the Misfortunes of so great a Man. He had only, says *Cicero*, to speak one *Word* for the Recovery of his Liberty, his Estate, his Dignity, his Wife, his Children, his Country. But that *Word* appear'd to him contrary to the Honour and Weal of the State. He declar'd therefore plainly, that an Exchange of Prisoners ought not to be thought of: That such an Example wou'd be attended with fatal Consequences to the Republick: That Citizens, who had with so much Cowardise surrendered their Arms and Persons to the Enemy, were unworthy of all Compassion, and out of a Capacity of serving their Country: That for himself, in his Season of Life his Loss ought to be reckon'd as nothing, whereas they had in their Hands several *Carthaginian* Generals in the Flower of Age, and capable of paying to their Country the Services of a great many Years. The Senate with difficulty comply'd with an Opinion at once so generous and unexampled. The illustri- *Horat. l. 3.* ous Exile left *Rome* to return to *Carthage*, untouch'd *Od. 3.* either with the lively Sorrow of his Friends, or the

generally related. This, like all far this is conclusive against the other Reports, gradually gain'd Testimonies of two such weighty Strength, and, from the national Authors as Cicero, and Seneca Hatred betwixt the Carthaginians (to say nothing of the Poets) is and Romans; was easily and generally believ'd by the latter. How der.

Tears

Tears of his Wife and Children. And nevertheless, he was not ignorant for what Torments he was reserv'd. Indeed, from the Moment that his Enemies saw him return'd, with the Exchange of Prisoners not effected, they put him to every Torture that their barbarous Cruelty cou'd contrive. They held him long shut up in a dismal Dungeon, from which, after his Eye-lids had been cut off, they drew him to bring him at once into the Light of the Sun in its greatest Strength and Heat. They next put him into a sort of Chest stuck with Nails, whose Points turn'd to him, allow'd him not one Moment's Ease either Day or Night. Lastly, after he had been long tormented by being kept awake in such direful Torture, his merciless Enemies nail'd him to a Cross, their ordinary Punishment, and there suffer'd him to expire. Such was the Conclusion of this great Man. He was indeed depriv'd of some Days, or perhaps Years of Life before him, but he has cover'd his Enemies with eternal Infamy.

Polyb.

I. I. p. 52. THE Blow receiv'd in *Africk* did not discourage the *Romans*. They made greater Preparations than before, to repair their Loss, and put to Sea the following Campaign three hundred sixty Vessels. The *Carthaginians* sail'd out to meet them with two hundred, but were beat in a Battle, fought on the Coasts of *Sicily*, and lost a hundred fourteen Ships taken by the *Romans*. These sail'd into *Africk* to pick up the few Soldiers who had escap'd the Pursuit of the Enemy after the Defeat of *Regulus*, and had bravely defended themselves in *Clupea*, where they had been unsuccessfully besieg'd.

HERE is a fresh Astonishment, that the *Romans*, after so considerable a Victory, and with a Fleet so numerous, shou'd think it worth their while to make an Expedition into *Africk*, only to bring back a small Garrison, whereas they had sufficient Encouragement to attempt a Conquest, which *Regulus* with so many fewer Forces had almost accomplish'd.

THE

a number of troops so much smaller,

dertaking, he sent them out at Break of Day with Flambeaus in their Hands, and all sorts of combustible Matters, and at the same time attack'd the Machines. The *Romans* with uncommon Bravery strove to repell them; and the Engagement was very bloody. Every Man, Assailant and Defendant, kept firm to his Post, and dy'd in it rather than he wou'd quit it. At last after a long Resistance and horrible Slaughter, the besieg'd sounded a Retreat, and left the *Romans* in Possession of their Works. This Affair being over, *Hannibal*, stealing by the Enemy's Camp in the Night, went to *Drepanum* to consult with *Adherbal*, who commanded there for the *Carthaginians*. *Drepanum* was a Place which had the Advantage of a commodious Port, and lay about fifteen Miles from *Lilybeum*, and was of that Consequence to the *Carthaginians*, that they were desirous to preserve it at any Price.

THE *Romans*, animated by their late happy Success, renew'd the Attack with greater Vigour than ever, the besieg'd not daring to hazard a second Attempt to burn their Machines, the Success of the first was so discouraging. But a Wind suddenly arising, some mercenary Soldiers represented to the Governour, that now was the favourable Opportunity to fire the Machines of the Besiegers. The Wind blowing right against them, and they offer'd their own Assistance in the Undertaking: The Offer was accepted, and they were furnish'd with every thing necessary to their Design. In one Moment the Fire catch'd all the Machines without a Possibility on the Side of the *Romans* to prevent it, because the Flames scattering every where, and carrying with the Wind the Sparks and Smoke full in their Eyes, they cou'd not see where to apply Relief, whereas the others saw clearly where to aim their Strokes, and sling their Fire. This Accident took away all Hope from the *Romans* of carrying the Place by open Force. They therefore turn'd the Siege into a Blockade, threw a
Ram-

Rampire and a Ditch round the Town, and dispersing their Army in the Neighbourhood, expected from time the Execution of what they saw cou'd not be finish'd by any shorter Way.

WHEN the Transactions of the Siege of *Lilybæum*, p. 70. and the Loss of one Part of the Forces were known at *Rome*, the Citizens, far from losing their Courage on so perplexing an Occasion, seem'd only to have receiv'd new Vigour and brisker Resolutions. Every Man strove to be foremost in the Muster-Roll. In a very little time an Army of ten thousand Men was rais'd, who passing the *Strait* went by Land to joyn the Besiegers.

AT the same time, the Consul *P. Claudius Pulcher* form'd the Design of falling upon *Adherbal* in *Drepanum*. He thought himself almost secure of surprizing him, because after the Loss lately receiv'd by the *Romans* at *Lilybæum*, the Enemy wou'd never dream of seeing them any more upon the Sea. Full of this Hope, he order'd his Fleet to sail out in the Night, the better to cover his Design. But he had to do with a General active and attentive, whose Vigilance he cou'd not deceive, and who gave him no Time to put his Ships in Order of Battle, but fell briskly upon him while his Navy was in Disorder and Confusion. The Victory on the Side of the *Carthaginians* was compleat. Of the *Roman* Fleet, only thirty Vessels got off, which fled along with the Consul, and disengag'd themselves in the best Manner they cou'd by coasting along the Shore. All the rest, to the Number of fourscore and thirteen, fell into the Hands of the *Carthaginians*, only a few Soldiers being preserv'd from the general Misfortune, who had sav'd themselves out of those Ships that were lost against the Shore. This PolyB. Victory rais'd as much the Prudence and Valour of 74. *Adherbal*, as it cover'd with Shame and Ignominy the *Roman* Consul.

His Colleague *Junius* was neither more prudent nor more happy than himself, but lost almost his whole Fleet by his own Miscarriages. Endeavouring to repair his Misfortune by some considerable Action, he held secret Intelligence with the Inhabitants of *Eryx**, and by this got the City into his Hands. Upon the Top of the Mountain stood the Temple of *Venus Erycina*, the finest, out of all dispute, and the richest of all the *Sicilian* Temples. The City lay on the Sides of the Mountain, and had a very long and difficult Access. *Junius* plac'd one Part of his Troops upon the Top, and the Remainder at the Foot of the Mountain, imagining that he had now nothing to fear; but *Amilcar*, firnam'd *Barcas*, Father of the famous *Hannibal*, found means to get into the City which lay between the Camps of the Enemy, and there to fortify himself. From this advantageous Post he incessantly harras'd the *Romans* for the Space of two Years. It is difficult to conceive how the *Cartbaginians* cou'd defend themselves, attack'd as they were from the Top and Bottom of the Mountain, and not able to come at any Convoys but from one single Place of the Sea, which was only open to them. From such a Situation of Affairs the Ability and Courage of a General are perhaps better discover'd, than from one noisy Victory.

FIVE Years ran out without any thing memorable perform'd on either Side. The *Romans* were once of Opinion that their Land-Forces wou'd be singly capable to finish the Siege of *Lilybaeum*: But the War, protracted beyond their Expectation, brought them back to their first Plan, and to vigorous Endeavours for the equipping a new Fleet. The publick Treasure was very low, but this Defect was supply'd by private Purse, such and so ardent was the Love which they had for their Country. Every Man according to his Ability contributed to the publick Expence, and upon the Security of the State, without any Scruple, advanc'd Money for an Expedition

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p. 79.

* A City
and Mountain
of Sicily.

p. 83, 84.

tion on which the Glory and Safety of *Rome* depended. One Man furnish'd out a Ship at his own Expence, another was equipp'd by the Contributions of two or three, and in a very little time two hundred were ready for Sail. The Command was given to the Consul *Lutatius*, who without Loss of Time put to Sea. The Enemy's Fleet had sail'd into *Africk*, and left to the Consul an easy Possession of all the advantageous Posts in the Neighbourhood of *Lilybaeum*; and as he foresaw that an Engagement was not far off, he forgot nothing which might assure the Success of it, and employ'd the intermediate Time in disciplining his Soldiers and Seamen upon the Sea. He was soon acquainted that the *Carthaginian* Fleet was approaching. It was commanded by *Hanno* who landed in a small Isle call'd *Hiera*, lying over against *Drepanum*. His Design was to reach *Eryx* before he was discover'd by the *Romans*, to supply the Army there, to reinforce his Troops, and take *Barcas* on board for his second in the Engagement, which was expected by him. But the Consul, suspecting his Design, was beforehand with him, and having taken his best Troops sail'd away for the small Island *Aegusa*, which lay near the other. He acquainted his Officers with his Design to fall upon the Enemy the next Day. Accordingly at Break of Day he put every Thing in a Readiness, when, unfortunately the Wind was favourable to the Enemy, which cost some Time to determine whether he shou'd engage them or not. But considering that the *Carthaginian* Fleet, unloaded of its Provisions, wou'd become more light and fit for Action, and besides wou'd be considerably strengthen'd by the Army and Presence of *Barcas*, he came to a sudden Resolution, and, notwithstanding the Wind, made directly to the Enemy. The Consul had with him select Troops, able Seamen, and excellent Ships built after the Model of a Galley lately taken from the Enemy, and which was the most furnish'd of its Kind that had ever been seen.

The *Carthaginians* on the other hand were destitute of all these Advantages. As they had the Sea in full Possession for some Years backwards, the *Romans* not daring to look out, they had a Contempt of the Enemy, and an Opinion of their own Strength as invincible. On the first Report of the Motion of the Enemy, *Carthage* had put to Sea a Fleet equip'd in Haste, and in every Circumstance discovering the Precipitation of its Equipment: Soldiers, Seamen, were all Mercenaries, newly rais'd without any Experience, Resolution, or even Zeal for a Country in which they had no common Interest. This soon appear'd in the Engagement. They cou'd not sustain the first Shock. Fifty of their Vessels were sunk, and seventy taken with their whole Crews. The rest, under Favour of a Wind which rose seasonably for them, made the best of their Way to the little Island from whence they had sail'd out. The Prisoners were more than ten thousand, the Consul immediately sail'd by *Lilybaum*, and joyn'd his Forces to those of the Besiegers.

WHEN the News of this Defeat arriv'd at *Carthage*, the Surprize and Terror were by so much the greater, as they were the less expected. The Senate lost not its Courage, but saw itself reduc'd to a total Inability for continuing the War. The *Romans* being Masters of the Sea, it was no longer possible to send either Provisions or Supplies of Men to the Armies in *Sicily*. An Express was therefore dispatch'd to *Barcas* the General there as soon as might be, and it was left to his Prudence to chuse whatever Party he should think most for the Safety of the Commonwealth. While any Ray of Hope darted in upon him, he had done every thing which cou'd be expected from the most intrepid Courage and consummate Wisdom. But all Hope now deserting him he sent to the Consul for a Treaty of Peace. Prudence, says *Polybius*, consists in knowing how to advance and retreat with Safety. *Lutatius* was not insensible to
what

what Straits and Uneasiness this War had reduc'd the Roman People, in draining their Blood and Treasures; and the fatal Consequences of *Regulus's* inexorable, and imprudent Obstinacy were fresh in Memory. He therefore comply'd without difficulty, and dictated the following Treaty.

THERE shall be Peace between Rome and Carthage, if the Roman People approve, on the following Conditions: The Carthaginians shall entirely evacuate all Sicily; shall no longer make War upon Hiero, the Syracusians or their Allies: They shall restore to the Romans Ransom-free all the Prisoners which they have taken from them; and pay them within twenty Years two thousand two hundred Euboic Talents of Silver. It is worth while to observe, by the by, the Exactness and Clearness with which this Treaty is worded, which in so short a Compass adjusts the Interests of two powerful Republicks, and their Allies by Land and Sea. p. 89.

WHEN these Conditions were brought to *Rome*, the People, disliking them, sent ten Commissioners to *Sicily* to put the finishing Hand to the Affair. They made no Alteration as to the Substance of the Treaty. The Time only was abridg'd for the Payment, and reduc'd to ten Years, a thousand Talents were added to the Sum that had been stipulated, which were to be paid in ready Money, and the *Carthaginians* were requir'd to depart out of all the Islands, situate between *Italy* and *Sicily*. *Sardinia* was not comprehended in this Treaty, but was taken from them by another made some Years afterwards. Ibid.

Such was the Conclusion of this War, the longest upon Record, and wag'd twenty-four Years without Intermision. The Obstinacy in disputing for Empire was equal on both sides: On both were seen the same Firmness, the same Greatness of Soul in forming and executing Projects. The *Carthaginians* had

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the Superiority in Point of Experience in the Marine; in the Nimbleness and Built of their Vessels; in the Management and Working of them; in the Skill and Capacity of their Pilots; in the Knowledge of Coasts, Shallows, Roads and Winds; and in the inexhaustible Fund of Wealth which supply'd ~~to the~~ Necessities of so long and obstinate a War. The Romans were destitute of all these Advantages; but Courage, Zeal for the publick Good, Love of their Country, and a noble Emulation of Glory were all these to them. One is astonish'd to see a Nation so raw and in experienc'd in Sea-Affairs, not only disputing the Sea with a People, the most expert that Way, and the most powerful that had ever been before, but even gaining several naval Victories over them. No Difficulties, no Misfortunes were capable to discourage them. They assuredly wou'd not have thought of a Peace had they been in the Circumstances in which the Carthaginians demanded it. One single unfortunate Campaign threw down the latter, whereas a Succession of such wou'd not have shaken the former.

As to Soldiers there was no Comparison between those of Rome and Carthage, the first being infinitely superior in point of Courage. Amongst the Generals of this War, Amilcar, surnam'd Barcas, had, without dispute, the most distinguish'd Bravery, and the most consummate Prudence.

The AFRICAN WAR:

Or the War wag'd by the Carthaginians against their mercenary Forces. Polyb. Ed. Gronov. p. 91.

To the War wag'd with the Carthaginians against the Romans succeeded another the very same Year, of shorter Continuance indeed, but infinitely more dangerous, as it was carried on in the Heart of the Republick, and attended with a Cruelty and a Barbarity

barity which have few Examples: This is the War which the *Carthaginians* were oblig'd to sustain against their mercenary Troops who had serv'd under them in *Sicily*, and is commonly call'd the *African* or *Libyan* War *. It only continu'd three Years and a ^{And} half, but was very bloody. The Occasion of it was this. ^{sometimes}

As soon as the Treaty was concluded with the *Romans*, *Amilcar*, having conducted to *Lilybeum* the Forces which were in *Eryx*, resign'd his Commission, and left it to *Gisgo*, Governour of the Place, to transport these Forces into *Africk*. He, as if he had foreseen what was to happen, shipped them not all off at once, but in small and separate Parties; that the first come might be paid off, and sent home before the Arrival of the others. This Conduct discover'd great Foresight and Wisdom, but was not equally seconded at *Carthage*. As the State was so drain'd by the Expence of so long a War, and the large Sum paid to the *Romans* on Signing the Peace, Care was not taken to pay the Forces in proportion as they arriv'd, but it was thought proper to wait for the Arrival of the rest, in hopes of obtaining from them, when they should be together, a Remission of some part of the Arrears due to them: This was the first Oversight.

HERE is discover'd the Genius of a State compos'd of Merchants, which know the full Value of Silver, but not the Merit of Men who traffick with their Blood, as others do with their Money, and always sell to the highest Bidder. In such a Republick, when an Occasion is once answer'd, the Merit of Services is no longer remembered.

THESE Soldiers, who entered in great Numbers into *Carthage*, being long accusom'd to an unbridled Liberty, caus'd great Disturbances in the City; to remedy which it was propos'd to their Officers, to march them all into a neighbouring Town call'd *Sicca*, with a Promise of supplying whatever was necessary to their Subsistence, till on the Arrival of their

their Companions, they could all be paid off, and sent home: This was a second Oversight.

A THIRD was the Refusal of Permission to leave their Baggage, Wives and Children at *Carthage* as they desired, and the forcing them to remove them to *Sicca*, who, in *Carthage*, would have prov'd so many Hostages of their Fidelity.

WHEN they were all met together at *Sicca*, they began, as they had nothing else to do, to compute the Arrears of their Pay, which they made a great deal more than was really due. To this Computation they throw in the magnificent Promises which had been made them at several times as Encouragements to their Duty, and pretended that these likewise ought to be plac'd to account. *Hanno*, who was then Governour of *Affick*, and dispatch'd to them from the Magistracy of *Carthage*, propos'd some Remission of their Arrears; and that they would content themselves with receiving a Part, considering the Distress to which the Commonwealth was reduced, and the Poverty of its present Circumstances. It is easy to guess how such a Proposal would be receiv'd. Complaints, Murmurs, seditious and insolent Clamour were every where heard. These Troops were compos'd of different Nations, Strangers to the Language of one another, and incapable of receiving the Impressions of Reason when they were once in Tumult. *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, Inhabitants of the *Balæarian Isles*, *Greeks*, for the most part Slaves or Deserters, and a greater Number of *Africans* compos'd these mercenary Troops. Transported with Rage, they immediately broke up, march'd towards *Carthage*, to the Number of more than twenty thousand, and encamp'd at *Tunis*, which lay so near that Metropolis.

THE *Carthaginians* then too late discover'd their Error. There was no Compliance so mean which they stoop'd not to, to sweeten these enrag'd Men, who, on their parts, put in practice every Perfidy which

which could be thought of to extort Money from them. When one Point was obtain'd, they had immediately some new Fetch, on which to found some new Demand. When their Pay was settled beyond the Conventions, they were still to be re-imburs'd for the Losses which they pretended to have sustain'd by the Deaths of Horses, for the excessive Price which at certain times they had paid for Bread-Corn, and the promis'd Recompences were insisted on. As nothing could be finally determin'd, the *Carthaginians* with great difficulty prevail'd with them to refer themselves to the Opinion of some General who had commanded in *Sicily*. *Gisgo* was the Person pitch'd on, who had always been acceptable to them. He harangu'd them in a Manner mild and insinuating, recalled to their Memories the long Time that they had serv'd in *Carthaginian* Pay, the considerable Sums they had receiv'd, and granted almost all their Demands.

THE Treaty was upon the Point of being concluded, when two Mutineers filled the Camp with Tumult. One of these was *Spendius* a *Captain*, who had been a Slave at *Rome*, and run away to the *Carthaginians*. His Stature was tall, and his Courage enterprising. His Fear of falling into the Hands of his old Master, by whom he was sure to be hang'd according to Custom, put it into his Head to break off the Accommodation. He had for his second one *Matbo*^b, who had been active in forming the Con-

^a La Crainte qu'il avoit de retomber entre les mains de son maître qui ne manqueroit pas de le faire pendre. He would have been tortured to Death. *Ευλαβήσθη μὴ κατὰ τῆς νόμου ἀντιοδείας διαφθαῖναι* Polyb. p. 98.

^b *Matbo* was an African, and free born, but as he had been active in raising the Rebellion, an

Accommodation would have effectually ruined him. He therefore, despairing of Pardon, embraced the Interests of Spendius with more Zeal than any of the Rebels, and first insinuated to the Africans the Danger of a Peace which would leave them singly expos'd to the Rage of their old Masters, Polyb. p. 98. Edit. Gronov.

spiracy. These two represented to the *Africans*, that on the Discharge and Retreat of the Strangers, themselves would be left alone in their own Country a Sacrifice to the Rage of the *Carthaginians*, who would take Vengeance upon them for the common Rebellion. Nothing more was wanted to fire them into Fury. They made Choice of *Spendius* and *Matbo* for their Chiefs. No Remonstrances were heard, and whoever offer'd to make any was immediately put to Death. They ran to *Gisgo's* Tent, plunder'd it of the Money destin'd for the Payment of the Forces, dragg'd him to Prison with all his Attendants, after they had been treated with the last Indignities. All the Towns of *Africk* received their Deputies encouraging them to assert their Liberties, and embraced their Party, *Utica* and *Hippacra* only excepted, of which they immediately form'd the Siege.

NEVER did *Carthage* see her self in such Danger. The *Carthaginians* to a Man drew their private Subsistence from the Rents of their Lands, and their publick Expences from the Tribute paid from *Africk*. But all this was stopp'd at once, and, which was worse, turn'd against them. They found themselves destitute of Arms, and Forces either for Land or Sea, of all necessary Preparations either to sustain a Siege, or equip a Fleet, and, to compleat their Misfortunes, without any Hopes of foreign Assistance either from their Friends or Allies.

THEY might in some Sense charge on themselves the Distress to which they were reduced. During the last War, they had treated with the last Rigour the *African* People, by excessive Taxes impos'd upon them, in the Exaction of which no Allowance was made for Poverty or any other Misfortune, and the Governours, such as *Hanno*, were treated with the greater Respect, the more secure they had been in levying these Taxes. So that no great Labour was required to engage the *Africans* in
this

were

this Rebellion. On the first Signal it broke out, and in one Moment became general. The Women, who had often with the deepest Concern seen their Husbands or Fathers dragged to Prison for Non-payment of the Taxes, were more animated than even the Men, and with Pleasure stripp'd themselves of all their Ornaments to furnish the Expence of the War; so that the Chiefs of the Rebels, after they had paid all that was promis'd to the Soldiers, found themselves still surrounded with Plenty. An instructive Lesson, says *Polybius*, to Men to teach them to look not only to the present Occasion, but to extend their Views to that which is to come.

THE *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding their present Distress, lost not their Courage, but provided the best Means for their Defence. The Command of the Army was given to *Hanno*. Troops were levy'd by Land and Sea, Horse and Foot. All the Citizens capable of bearing Arms were muster'd: Mercenaries were invited from all Parts; and all the Ships, left to the Commonwealth, were repair'd and made serviceable.

THE Rebels on their Side, discover'd not less Ardor. We have before said, that they had form'd the Siege of two Places, which had refus'd to joyn them. Their Army was increas'd to seventy thousand Men. After Detachments had been made to sustain these Sieges, they form'd their Camp at *Tunis*, and thereby held *Carthage* in a sort of Blockade, alarming it with frequent Terrors, and advancing up to its very Walls by Day and by Night.

HANNO had march'd to the Relief of *Utica*, and gain'd a considerable Advantage, which, had he known how to use it, might have prov'd decisive. But entering the City, and dreaming only of diverting himself there, the Mercenaries, posted upon a neighbouring Hill covered with Wood, having learn'd how the Enemy manag'd, pour'd down upon them, found the Soldiers every where off their Duty,

Duty, took and pillaged the Camp, and seized upon all the Provisions brought from *Carthage* for the Relief of the Besieged. Nor was this the only Mistake committed by *Hanno*; and on such Occasions Mistakes are a great deal more fatal. Wherefore *Amilcar*, surnamed *Barcas*, was appointed in his Room. He answer'd the Opinion conceiv'd of him, and his first Success was the obliging the Rebels to raise the Siege of *Utica*. Next he march'd against the Army lying near *Carthage*, defeated one Party, and seiz'd all its advantageous Posts.

THE Arrival of a young *Numidian* Nobleman, nam'd *Naravasus*, who, out of his Esteem for the Person and Merit of *Barcas*, join'd him with two thousand *Numidians*, was of great Service to him. Encourag'd by this Reinforcement, he fell upon the Rebels, who had inclos'd him in a Valley, killed ten thousand of 'em, and took four thousand Prisoners. The young *Numidian* distinguish'd himself in this Action. *Barcas* receiv'd into his Troops as many of the Prisoners as were desirous to be inlist'd, and gave free Liberty to the rest to go where they would, on condition of their engaging to carry Arms no more against the *Carthaginians*, and if they did, every Soul that was taken should undergo the last Punishment. This Conduct shew'd the Wisdom of that General. He thought this a better Expedient than extreme Severity. And indeed where we have to do with a multitude of Mutineers, the greatest part of which are drawn in by the Persuasions of the most heated, or detain'd in fear of the most enrag'd, Clemency is almost ever successful.

SPENDIUS, the Chief of the Rebels, fearing that this affected Lenity of *Barcas* might occasion a Defection amongst his Troops, thought he had no other Means to prevent it, but by putting them upon some desperate Action, to deprive them of all Thought and Hope of a Reconciliation with the Enemy. With this View laying before them some
forg'd

for'd Letters of Advice given him, that a secret Design was concerted betwixt some of their own Comrades and *Gisgo*, for his Rescue out of Prison, where he had been so long detain'd; he brought them to the barbarous Resolution of murdering him and all the rest of the Prisoners; and the Man, who durst offer any milder Counsel was immediately sacrificed to their Fury. The unfortunate General, and seven hundred Prisoners shut up with him, were brought out of the Camp, and all executed, but *Gisgo* was the first Sacrifice. Their Hands were cut off, their Limbs mutilated, their Thighs broke, and themselves yet breathing thrown into a Ditch. The *Carthaginians* sent a Herald to demand their Bodies to Sepulture, but were refus'd, and the Herald told, that whoever came any more upon his Errand should suffer *Gisgo's* Fate. In a word, the Rebels came to a Resolution, with unanimous Consent, of treating all the *Carthaginians* who should fall into their Hands in the same barbarous Manner; and if any Allies of theirs were taken, that they should with their Hands cut off be sent back to *Carthage*. This bloody Resolution was too faithfully executed.

THE *Carthaginians* were beginning to respire, when a Number of mischievous Accidents replung'd them in fresh Dangers. Their Generals fell out, and Provisions coming to them by Sea, of which they had a pressing Necessity, were all thrown away in a Tempest. But their most sensible Misfortune was the sudden Defection of the two only Towns which had preserv'd their Allegiance, and in all Times adher'd to the Commonwealth with the most inviolable Attachment. These were *Utica* and *Hippacra*. These Towns without any Reason, or even Pretence of a Reason, went at once into the Party of the Rebels; and, with a Fury and a Rage like theirs, cut the Throats of the Governour and Garrison sent to their Relief, and push'd their In-

humanity

humanity so far, that they deny'd their dead Bodies to the *Carthaginians*, demanding them to Burial.

THE Rebels, animated by so much happy Success, laid Siege to *Carthage*, but were immediately oblig'd to raise it. The War however was continued. Gathering into one Body all their own Troops, and those of the Allies, to the Number of more than fifty thousand Men, they watch'd the Motions of *Amilcar's* Army, but carefully kept their own upon the Sides of the Mountains, and avoided coming down into the Plains, where the Enemy would have been so much superior to them from his Elephants and Horses. *Amilcar*, more skilful in the Arts of War than themselves, never laid himself open to any of their Attacks, and making a Benefit of their Overights, took from them their advantageous Posts, if their Soldiers straggled ever so little, and harras'd them a thousand Ways. Those of 'em who fell into his Hands, were expos'd to wild Beasts. In Conclusion, he surpriz'd them when they least expected, and shut them up in a Place of such Situation, that it was impossible for them to disengage their Forces. Not daring to fight, and unable to get off, they fortify'd their Camp, and surrounded it with Ditches and Intrenchments. But an Enemy within themselves, and far more formidable, press'd them with the greatest Extremity: This was Famine, which was so raging that they eat one another, divine Providence, says *Polybius*, thus revenging upon them their own Impiety and Inhumanity. They were now without all Resource, and well knew to what Punishments they were destin'd, if they fell alive into the Hands of the Enemy. After such Cruelties as had been acted by them, it was to no Purpose to think of Peace or Accommodation. They had sent to their Forces at *Tunis* for Assistance, but with no Success. The Famine nevertheless increas'd daily. They had begun with eating their Prisoners, then their Slaves; and lastly only their own

own Men were left to be devour'd. Their Chiefs, now no longer able to bear up against the Complaints and Cries of the Multitude, threatening to cut their Throats if they did not surrender, went themselves to *Amilcar*, upon his Safe-conduct first obtain'd. The Conditions of the Treaty were, that the *Carthaginians* should at Pleasure select ten Persons of the Rebels to be treated as they thought fit, and that the rest should be disarm'd, and dismiss'd with only their Shirts. When the Treaty was sign'd, the Chiefs themselves were arrested, and detain'd by the *Carthaginians*, who on this Occasion clearly discover'd that they were not over-scrupulous in Point of Honesty. The Rebels, inform'd that their Chiefs were detain'd, knowing nothing of the Convention, suspected that they were betray'd, and immediately flew to Arms. But *Amilcar*, having surrounded them, brought on his Elephants, and trod, or cut them to Pieces, to the Number of more than forty thousand.

THE Consequence of this Victory was the Reduction of almost all the Towns of *Africk*, who immediately return'd to their Duty. *Amilcar*, without Loss of Time, march'd against *Tunis*, which from the Beginning of the War had been the Asylum of the Rebels, and the Place of their Arms. He hemm'd it in on one Side, while *Hannibal*, join'd in Commission with him, besieg'd it on the other. Then approaching the Walls, and ordering Crosses to be erected, he hung *Spendius* from one of them, and the rest detain'd with him from the others, where they all expir'd in Torments. *Matbo*, the other Chief, who commanded in the Place, saw from this what himself had to expect, and became more attentive to his own Defence. Perceiving that *Hannibal*, as confident of Success, acted with great Negligence, he made a Sally, attack'd his Quarters, killed many of his Men, took several Prisoners, in which Number was *Hannibal* himself, and pillag'd

his Camp. Then taking *Spendius* down from the Cross, he put *Hannibal* in his Place, after he had made him undergo unspeakable Torments, and sacrificed round the Body of *Spendius*, thirty Citizens of the first Quality in *Carthage*, as so many Victims of his Vengeance. One would think there had been a mutual Emulation betwixt the contending Parties, to out-do each other in Acts of the most barbarous Cruelty.

B A R C A S was so remote from his Colleague, that it was very late before his Misfortune reach'd him; and besides the Ground betwixt the two Camps rendered it impracticable for him to run hastily to his Assistance. This unlucky Accident gave great Consternation to *Carthage*. The Reader may have observ'd in the Course of this War a continual Alternative of Prosperity and Adversity, of Security and Fear, of Joy and Grief, so various and little constant were the Events on either Side.

IN *Carthage* it was thought proper to make one bold Push for all. All the Youth capable of bearing Arms, was press'd into the Service. *Hanno* was sent to join *Amilcar*, and thirty Senators were deputed to conjure those Generals, in the Name of the Republick, to forget past Quarrels, and sacrifice their Resentments to the publick Good. This was immediately comply'd with, they mutually embrac'd, and were reconciled sincerely and in good earnest.

FROM this time, every Thing went prosperously on the Side of the *Carthaginians*, and *Matbo*, who, in all his Attempts after this, was always worsted, thought himself under a Necessity of hazarding a Battle; and this was equally desir'd by the *Carthaginians*. On both Sides they encouraged their Troops, as to a Battle which was for ever to decide their Fate. An Engagement immediately follow'd. The Victory was not long in Suspence, the Rebels every where giving Ground, the *Africans* were

were almost all slain, and the rest surrendered. *Matbo* was taken alive and led in Triumph to *Carthage*. All *Africk* immediately return'd to its Obedience, except the two last revolted and perfidious Cities; which were soon oblig'd to surrender at Discretion.

THEN the victorious Army return'd to *Carthage*, and was receiv'd there with Shouts of Joy, and the Gratulations of the whole City. *Matbo* and his Men, after they had adorn'd the publick Triumph, were led to Punishment, and finish'd by a Death equally ignominious and painful, a Life stain'd with the blackest Treasons, and the most unexampled Barbarities. Such was the Conclusion of the War against the Mercenaries after a Continuance of three Years and four Months. It furnish'd, says *Polybius*, a Lesson of Instruction to all People not to employ in their Armies a greater Number of Mercenaries than Citizens, nor to repose the Security of the State in the Arms of Men, who are ty'd to it neither by Interest nor Affection.

I HAVE purposely deserr'd saying any thing of the Transactions of *Sardinia* in the very Time that I have been treating of, and which were in a sort dependent, and consequent to the War sustain'd in *Africk* against the Mercenaries. One sees in them the same Violences used to promote the Rebellion, the same Excuses of Fury and Cruelty; as if a Wind of Discord and Madness had blown out of *Africk* into *Sardinia*.

WHEN it was known there what *Spendius* and *Matbo* were doing in *Africk*, the Mercenaries in that Isle shook off the Yoke in Imitation of those furious Incendiaries. They began with cutting the Throats of *Boftar* their General, and of all the *Carthaginians* in his Attendance. A Successor was sent, but all the Forces which he carry'd with him revolted to the Rebels, hung him from a Cross, and in the whole Extent of the Isle put all the *Carthaginians* to the Sword, after they had made them suffer unspeakable

Torments. Falling upon one Place after another, they became in a short time Masters of the whole Isle. But Discord happening between them and the Natives, the Mercenaries were entirely drove out of the Isle, and took Sanctuary in *Italy*. Thus the *Carthaginians* lost *Sardinia*, an Isle of great Importance to them by its Extent, Fertility and numerous Inhabitants.

THE *Romans*, from the Time of their Treaty with the *Carthaginians*, had behav'd towards them with great Justice and Moderation. A slight Quarrel on account of some *Roman* Merchants arrested at *Carthage* for supplying the Enemy with Provisions, had imbroil'd them a little. But their Merchants being restor'd on the first Motion made to the Senate of *Carthage*, the *Romans*, who on every Occasion lov'd to display their Justice and Generosity, made the *Carthaginians* a Return of their ancient Friendship, serv'd them whenever it lay in their Power, forbade their Merchants to furnish any Provisions but to them, and then even refus'd to listen to the Proposals made by the *Sardinian* Rebels, who invited them to take Possession of the Isle.

BUT this Delicacy wore off by degrees, and *Cæsar's* advantageous Testimony * of their Honesty and Plain-dealing, cou'd, with no good Conscience, be apply'd here, "Tho', says he, in all the *Punick* Wars the *Carthaginians* both in Peace and Truces had committed a Number of the most detestable Actions, the *Romans* cou'd never by any inviting Opportunity be brought to retaliate such Usage: More attentive to the Views of their own Glory, than to the Justice of Revenge upon such perfidious Enemies."

THE Mercenaries, who, as we said, had retir'd into *Italy*, brought the *Romans* at last to the Resolution of sailing over into *Sardinia*, and rendering themselves Masters of it. The *Carthaginians* with deep Concern receiv'd the unwelcome News. They pretended

* Sallust
in Bello
Catilin.

tended that *Sardinia* belong'd to them by a juster Title than to the *Romans*; they therefore put themselves in a Posture to take a speedy and just Vengeance upon those who had arm'd the Island against them. But the *Romans*, pretending that these Preparations were made not against *Sardinia*, but themselves, declar'd War against the *Carthaginians*. These, exhausted all Ways, and scarce beginning to recover, were in no Condition to sustain a War. The Necessity of the Time was therefore to be comply'd with, and the stronger to be yielded to. A new Treaty was made, by which they gave up *Sardinia* to the *Romans*, and oblig'd themselves to a new Payment of two hundred Talents, to redeem themselves from the War with the which they were threaten'd. It was this Injustice on the Part of the *Romans* which was the true Cause of the second *Punic War*, as will be seen afterwards.

The second Punic War.

THE second *Punic War* which I am going to treat of, is one of the most memorable of which there is any Mention in History, and most deserving the Attention of the curious Reader, whether we regard the Boldness of the Actions, and the Wisdom in the Methods of their Execution; the Obstinacy of two rival Nations, and the ready Resources in the lowest Ebb of their Fortune; the Variety of strange Events; and the uncertain Issue of so long and bloody a War; or lastly, the Concert of the most perfect Models in every kind of Merit, and the most instructive Lessons that are to be met with in History either for War, Policy, or Government. Never did two greater Cities or Nations wage War together, and never had these two seen themselves in greater Power or Glory. *Rome* and *Carthage* were, out of all dispute, the two first Cities of the World. They had measur'd their Strength in the first *Punic*

War, and so made Trial of each other's Abilities, and perfectly knew what either cou'd do. In this second War the Fate of Arms was so equally ballanc'd, and the Success so full of Vicissitudes and Varieties, that the Victory fell to that Side which had been nearest Ruin. Great as the Forces of these two People were, it may almost be said that their mutual Hatred were still greater. The *Romans* on one hand cou'd with no Patience see the vanquish'd lifting up their Heads against them, and the *Carthaginians* on the other were provok'd beyond Measure at the equally vigorous and fordid Treatment which they pretended to have receiv'd from the Victor.

THE Plan which I follow permits me not to enter into an exact Detail of this War, of which *Italy, Sicily, Spain, Africk*, were the Theatres, and which has a still closer Connection with the *Roman* History than with that of which I am now treating. I shall confine my self therefore principally to what regards the *Carthaginians*, and endeavour as much as I can to give my Reader an Idea of the Genius and Character of *Hannibal*, the greatest Warriour which perhaps Antiquity has to boast of.

The remote and nearer Causes of the Second Punick War.

BEFORE I come to speak of the Declaration of the War betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, I think my self oblig'd to lay before my Reader the true Causes, and to point out by what Steps this Rupture betwixt those People was so long forming and conducting before it broke out into an open Flame.

A MAN wou'd extremely deceive himself, says *Polybius*, who shou'd ascribe the second *Punick* War to the taking of *Saguntum* as to its true Cause. The Regret of the *Carthaginians* that they had so tamely given up *Sicily* by the Treaty which terminated

nated the first *Punick* War; the Injustice and Violence of the *Romans*, who moreover took Advantage from the Troubles excited in *Africk*, to wrest *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, and to impose a new Tribute; the happy Success and Conquests of the latter in *Spain*: These were the Causes of the Violation of the Peace subsisting betwixt these two Nations, as *Livy*^r, following herein the Plan of *Polybius*, insinuates in a few Words in the Beginning of his History of the second *Punick* War.

In a word, *Amilcar*, surnam'd *Barcas*, bore with the greatest Uneasiness the last Treaty which the Necessity of the Times had oblig'd the *Carthaginians* to submit to; and he meditated the Design of forming just, but distant Measures for breaking it upon the first favourable Occasion.

WHEN the Troubles of *Africk* were compos'd, he was sent upon an Expedition against the *Numidians*, in which giving fresh Proofs of his Ability and Courage, his Merit rais'd him to the Command of the Army which was to act in *Spain*. *Hannibal* his Son, then only nine Years of Age, demanded with the greatest Importunity to attend him in this Expedition, and for that Purpose employ'd every Art and Flattery common to his Age, and prevalent with a Father who lov'd him tenderly. *Amilcar* cou'd not refuse him, and after having sworn him upon *Altars* that he wou'd declare himself an Enemy to the *Romans* as soon as his Age wou'd allow, he took him with him.

AMILCAR was furnish'd with all the Qualities requisite to a great General. To an invincible Courage, and the most consummate Prudence, he joyned a Behaviour the most popular and insinuating. He subdu'd in a very short time the greatest Part of the

^r *Angebat ingentis spiritus & Sardiniam inter motum Avirum sicilia Sardiniaque amissæ: fricæ fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam superimposito, inter desperatione rerum concessam; ceptam. Liv. l. 21. n. 1.*

Nations of *Spain*, either by the Terror of his Arms or the Engagements of his Conversation, and after a Command of nine Years dy'd like himself, fighting gloriously in the Cause of his Country.

Polyb.
p. 126.

THE *Carthaginians* appointed *Asdrubal* his Son-in-Law to succeed him. He to secure the Country built a City, which by the Advantage of its Situation, the Commodiousness of its Harbours, its Fortifications, and Flow of its Wealth from the Facility of its Commerce, became one of the most considerable Cities of the World. It was call'd *New Carthage*, and to this Day is known by the Name of *Carthagena*.

FROM all these Steps of these two great Generals, it is easy to see that they meditated some great Design, which they never lost sight of, and laid their Schemes at a Distance for its Execution. The *Romans* were sufficiently sensible of this, and reproach'd their own Indolence and Sloth which had held them in a sort of Lethargy, while the Enemy was rapidly pushing his Victories in *Spain*, which might one Day turn against themselves. It wou'd have been very agreeable to them to have fallen upon him by open Force, and wrested his Conquests out of his Hands. But the Fear of another (not less formidable) Enemy, the *Gauls*, deny'd them the Opportunity of shewing their Resentments. They therefore fell to negotiating, and concluded a Treaty with *Asdrubal*, in which, without saying any thing of the rest of *Spain*, they contented themselves with an Article which bound the *Carthaginians* to make no Conquests beyond the *Iberus*.

Polyb. l. 2.
Liv. l. 2.
n. 2.

ASDRUBAL in the mean time went successfully on, but keeping within the Bounds prescrib'd, and applying himself to gain the Chiefs of the Nation by an obliging and open Behaviour, he advanc'd the Affairs of his Country more by Persuasions than open Force. But unhappily, after he had govern'd *Spain* eight Years, he was treasonably murder'd by a *Gaul*,

Gaul, who thus reveng'd himself for a private Grudge against him^s.

THREE Years before his Death he ~~had writ~~ ^{wrote} to Liv. l. 21. *Carthage* for *Hannibal*, then twenty-two Years of Age, to come to him. The Proposal met with some difficulty, as the Senate was divided betwixt two powerful Factions, who in the Time of *Amilcar* had begun to discover themselves, and to follow opposite Views in the Affairs and Conduct of the State. One Faction had *Hanno* at his Head, whose Birth, Merit, and Zeal for the common Good, gave him great Influence in the publick Deliberations. This Faction on every Occasion propos'd the making a safe Peace and preserving the Conquests in *Spain*, as preferable to the uncertain Events of an expensive War, which it foresaw wou'd one Day determine in the Ruin of *Carthage*. The other call'd the *Barcinian* Faction, because it supported the Interest of *Barcas* and of his Family, had to its ancient Merit and Credit in the City, added the Reputation gain'd by the signal Exploits of *Amilcar* and *Asdrubal*, and declar'd openly for War. When therefore *Asdrubal's* Demand came to a Debate in the Senate, *Hanno* represented the Danger of sending so early to the Army so young a Man, who had all the Haughtiness and imperious Temper of his Father, and was therefore rather to be kept long and carefully under the Eyes of the Magistrates, and the Power of the Laws to learn Obedience, and a Modesty which shou'd teach him to think of himself as not superior to all others. He concluded with saying that he fear'd that this Spark which was then kindling wou'd one Day rise

^s The Murder was owing to the rare Fidelity of this *Gaul*, whose Master had fallen by the Hand of *Asdrubal*. It was publickly acted, and the Murderer, seiz'd by the Guards, and put to the Torture, express'd a Satisfaction so great in

the Thought of his Revenge successfully executed, that he seem'd to insult all the Terror of his Torments. Eo fuit habitu oris, ut superante lætitia dolores, ridentis etiam speciem præberet. Liv. l. 21. n. 1.

into

into a Conflagration. His Remonstrances were not heard, the *Barcinian* Faction carry'd the Day, and *Hannibal* departed for *Spain*.

ON his Arrival there he drew upon himself the Eyes of the whole Army, which fancy'd that *Amilcar* survive in him. The same Fire sparkled in his Eyes, the same martial Air grac'd his Looks, the same manly Features, the same Gesture endear'd him to all. But his personal Qualities gain'd him a still greater Reputation. ^{Nothing} ~~Nothing~~ ^{was wanting} in him which can be desir'd to form a great Man. His Patience in Labour was invincible, his Temperance astonishing, his Courage in the greatest Dangers intrepid, and his Presence of Mind in the very Tempest of Action admirable; but what is still more surprizing, he had a Genius which cou'd take any Impression, and was form'd either to command or obey, so that it is left doubtful by whom he was most belov'd, the General or the Army. He serv'd three Campaigns under *Asdrubal*.

Polyb. l. 2. p. 172. l. 3. p. 234. l. 21. n. 3. c. Carth. 641. Rome 533. In vit Au- rub. c. 7. THE Suffrages of both Army and People concurr'd to raise him to the Generalship upon the Death of *Asdrubal*. I know not whether it was not even then, or about that Time, that the Republick, to raise his Credit and Authority, advanc'd him to the first Dignity of the State, that of being one of its *Suffetes*, and sometimes conferr'd upon Generals. It is from *Cornelius Nepos* that we have this particular Circumstance of his Life, who, speaking of the *Prætorship* conferr'd on *Hannibal* after his Return to *Carthage*, and the Conclusion of the Peace, says, that it was in his twenty-second Year that he was made King.

From the Moment that he was created General, as if *Italy* had fallen to his Share, and he was even now appointed to make War upon the *Romans*, he

Hic ut resit Prætor factus est, postquam rex fuerat anno secundo & vigesima.

secretly turn'd his whole Army that Way, and lost no Time, in the Fear of being prevented by Death as his Father and Brother-in-Law had been. In *Spain* he took several strong Towns, and vanquish'd a Number of Nations. Tho' the *Spaniards* had so much Advantage of him in the Number of Forces (their Army rising to more than a hundred thousand Men) yet he so well hit his Time, and chose his Ground with such Judgment, that he came off with Victory and the Pursuit of the Enemy. After this nothing resist'd him. But he yet forbore meddling with *Saguntum* ^u, carefully avoiding every Occasion of a Rupture with the *Romans*, till he was furnish'd with every thing necessary for so great an Undertaking; and herein he comply'd with the Advice given him by his Father above all. He apply'd himself to win the Hearts of the Citizens and Allies, and to gain their Confidence by bountiful Shares allotted them out of the Plunder taken from the Enemy, and exact Payments made of all Arrears ^w: A wise Step, and which never fails of producing its Advantage at the proper Time.

THE *Saguntins*, on their side, apprehensive of the Danger with which they were menac'd from the continu'd Successes of *Hannibal*, advertis'd the *Romans* of them. Deputies were nam'd by the *Romans* to receive a personal Information upon the very Scene of Affairs, with Orders to lay their Complaints before *Hannibal* if it was thought proper, and in case of a Refusal of Justice from him, to go right to *Carthage* with the same Complaints.

^u This City lay on the Carthaginian Side of the *Iberus*, very near the Mouth of that River, and in a Country where the Carthaginians were allow'd to make War; but *Saguntum*, as an Ally of the *Romans*, was excepted from all

Hospitalities, by virtue of the late Treaty.

^x Ibi large partiendo prædam, stipendia præterita cum fide exolvendo, cunctos civium sociorumque Animos in se firmavit. Liv. l. 21. n. 5.

IN the mean time *Hannibal* form'd the Siege of *Saguntum*, foreseeing great Advantages which would result to him from the taking of this City. He assur'd himself, that by this Means he should deprive the *Romans* of all Hopes of bringing the War into *Spain*; that this new Conquest would secure the old ones; that no Enemy would be left behind him, which would render his March more secure and easy; that he should there find Money for the Execution of his Designs; that the Plunder of the Town would inspire his Soldiers with greater Ardour and Chearfulness to follow him; that lastly, with the Spoils which he should send to *Carthage*, he should procure to himself the Favour and kind Wishes of the Citizens. Animated by these Motives, he spar'd no Expence or Labour to press the Siege. He himself set an Example to his Troops, was present at every Labour, and stood expos'd to the greatest Dangers.

IT was soon known at *Rome*, that *Saguntum* was besieged. Instead of flying to its Relief, more Time was still thrown away in fruitless Consults, and equally insignificant Deputations. *Hannibal* gave the *Roman* Deputies to understand, that he was not at Leisure to hear them. They therefore repair'd to *Carthage*, but with no better Fate; the *Barcinian* Faction carrying it against the Complaints of the Envoys, and all the Remonstrances of *Hanno*.

WHILE these Voyages and Negotiations were carrying on, the Siege was press'd with great Vigour. The *Saguntins* were reduc'd to the last Extremity, and in want of every Thing. An Accommodation was propos'd, but the Conditions on which it was offer'd appear'd so hard, that they could not bring themselves to a Thought of accepting them. Before the last Answer was return'd, the principal Senators, bringing their own Gold and Silver, and that of the publick Treasury into the Market-place, threw both into a Fire lighted for that Purpose, and then

then themselves. At the same time, a Tower long batter'd by the Rams falling with a terrible Noise, the *Carthaginians* entered the Town by the Breach, soon became Masters of it, and cut the Throats of the Inhabitants which were of Age to bear Arms. The Fire did not rob them of all the Pillage, which was still very great. *Hannibal* reserv'd no part of the Spoils gain'd by his Victories to himself, but apply'd them solely to the Success of his Designs. Wherefore *Polybius* remarks, that the taking of *Saguntum* serv'd to awaken the Ardour of the Soldier by the Sight of the rich Booty which it afforded, and by the Prospect of more to come; and it reconcil'd all the principal Persons of *Carthage* to *Hannibal*, by the large Presents made to 'em out of its Spoils.

THE Grief and Consternation with which the Polyb. l. 3. News of the taking and melancholy Fate of *Sagun-Liv. l. 21.
tum were receiv'd at *Rome*, are not easy to express.n. 16, 17.
Compassion for an unfortunate City, Shame for having fail'd to relieve faithful Allies, a just Indignation against the *Carthaginians* the Authors of all these Calamities, the most sensible Alarms given by these Successes of *Hannibal*, whom the *Romans* believ'd already at their Gates; all these Sentiments gave a Trouble so great, that in the first Moments of it it was impossible to come to any Resolution, or do any thing else, besides following the Torrent of Passion and sacrificing Floods of Tears to the Memory of a City in Ruins for its inviolable Fidelity^a to *Rome*, and betray'd by the unaccountable Indolence, and the imprudent Delays of those, who had so great an Interest in its Preservation. When they were a little come to themselves, an Assembly of the People was call'd, and a War against the *Carthaginians*, unanimously resolv'd.*

^a Sanctitate Disciplinae, qua civem suam coluerunt, *Liv. l. 21.*
fidem socialem usque ad pernici-
n. 7.

The Declaration of the War.

Polyb. THAT no Ceremony might be wanting, Deputies
 were sent to *Carthage* to learn whether *Saguntum* had
 been besieg'd by Order of the Senate, and if so, to
 declare War; or, if this Siege, was undertaken solely
 by the Authority of *Hannibal*, to require that he
 should be deliver'd into the Hands of the *Romans*.
 As they saw that the Senate gave no precise Answer
 to their Demands, one of them shewing the folded
 Lappet of his Robe, *I bring here*, said he in a
 raised and angry Tone, *Peace or War, the Choice is*
left to your selves. To the Answer given him, that
 himself should make the Choice. *I give you War*
then, said he unfolding his Robe. *And we*, reply'd
 the *Carthaginians* with the same Haughtiness, *as*
heartily accept it, and are resolv'd to prosecute it with
the same Chearfulness. Such was the Beginning of
 the second *Punick War*.

If the Cause of this War is ascrib'd to the taking
 of *Saguntum*, the whole Blame, says *Polybius*, be-
 long'd to the *Carthaginians*, who could not with
 any colourable Pretence besiege a City in Alliance
 with *Rome*, and as such comprehended in the Treaty,
 which forbad either Party to make War upon the
 Allies of the other. But if the Origin of this War
 is traced higher, and carried backward to the Time
 of the arresting of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*
 by the *Romans*, and the unreasonable Imposition of
 a new Tribute, it must be own'd, remarks the same
Polybius, that here the Conduct of the *Romans* was
 intirely unjustifiable, as it was meerly founded in
 Violence; and that if the *Carthaginians* had, without
 Ambiguity and frivolous Pretences, clearly demanded
 Satisfaction upon these two Grievances, and upon a
 Refusal declared War against *Rome*, Reason and
 Justice had been entirely on their Side. The Space
 of Time betwixt the Conclusion of the *First*, and the
 Beginning

Beginning of the *Second Punick War*, was twenty-four Years.

The Beginning of the Second Punick War.

A.M.

3786.

Carthage

670.

Rome 535.

before

Christ 201.

Polyb.

l. 3. p. 260.

Liv. l. 2.

n. 21, 22.

WHEN the War was resolv'd and proclaim'd on both Sides, *Hannibal*, then twenty-six or twenty-seven Years of Age, before he discover'd openly his great Design, thought it incumbent upon him to provide for the Security of *Spain* and *Africk*. With this View he march'd the Forces of the one into the other, so ^{that} as the *Africans* serv'd in *Spain*, and the *Spaniards* in *Africk*. He did this in the Persuasion, that these Soldiers thus at a Distance from their own Country, would be more fit for Service, and moreover more firmly attach'd to him, as they would be a sort of Hostages for each other's Fidelity. The Forces which he left in *Africk* amounted to about fifty thousand Men, of which twelve hundred were Horse: Those of *Spain* to something more than fifteen thousand, amongst which were two thousand five hundred fifty Horse. He left the Command of the *Spanish* Forces to his Brother *Asdrubal*, with a Fleet of near sixty Vessels to guard the Coasts, and wise Counsels for his Conduct, whether with Regard to the *Spaniards* or the *Romans*, if they should attack him.

BEFORE *Hannibal* set forward on this Expedition, *Livy* observes, that he went to *Cadiz* to discharge his Vows made to *Hercules*, and engag'd him by new ones for the obtaining a successful Issue to the War he was entering upon. *Polybius* in few Words gives us a very clear Idea of the Distance of the Places through which *Hannibal* was to march in his Way to *Italy*. From *New Carthage*, from whence he set out, to the *Iberus* were counted two thousand two hundred Furlongs * *. From the *Iberus* to *Emporium* Miles.

* *Polybius* makes the Distance from *New Carthage* to be 2600 Furlongs

L. 3.
 P. 159.
 * 200
 Miles.
 * 200
 Miles.
 * 175
 Miles.
 * 150
 Miles.
 * 1000
 Miles.
 Polyb.
 p. 260,
 261.

rium a Maritime Town which separates *Spain* from the *Gauls*, by *Strabo's* Account, were counted sixteen hundred Furlongs *. From *Emporium* to the Passage of the *Rhone*, the same Space of sixteen hundred Furlongs *. From the Passage of the *Rhone* to the *Alps* fourteen hundred Furlongs *. From the *Alps* into the Plains of *Italy* twelve hundred Furlongs *. Thus from *New Carthage* to the Plains of *Italy* were eight thousand Furlongs *.

HANNIBAL had long before taken all the proper Measures to know the Nature and Situation of the Places through which he was to pass; to feel how the *Gauls* stood affected to the *Romans*; to gain their Chiefs, greedy of Gold by his Largeesses to them^b; and to assure himself of the Affection and Fidelity of one Part of the People which lay in his March. He was not ignorant that the Passage of the *Alps* would be attended with great Difficulties; but such as were surmountable, and he troubled himself no farther on that account.

Idem
 262.
 Liv. 21.
 n. 22-24.

EARLY in the Spring *Hannibal* begun his March, leaving *New Carthage* where he had kept his Winter Quarters. His Army then consisted of sixscore thousand Men, of which twelve thousand were Horse; near forty Elephants follow'd him. Having pass'd the *Iberus*, he subdued gradually the Nations which oppos'd him in his March, and lost a very great Part of his Army in this Expedition. He left *Hanno* in Command of all the Country between the *Iberus* and the *Pyrenean Hills*, with eleven thousand Men, who were intrusted with all the Baggage of those that were to follow him. He dis-

Furlongs; so the whole Number of Furlongs will be 9400, or (625 Feet being allowed to the Furlongs) 994 English Miles, and almost one third. See Polybius. Gronov. Edit. p. 267.

^h Audierunt præoccupatos

jam ab Annibale Gallorum animos esse: Sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore, ni subinde auro, cujus avidissima gens est, Principum animi conciliantur, Liv. l. 21. n. 20.

mils'd as many, sending them back into their own Countries, thus to assure himself of their Affection when he should want Recruits, and giving others a certain Hope of a Return whenever they desir'd it. He pass'd the *Pyrenean Hills*, and reached the Banks of the *Rhône*, at the Head of fifty thousand Foot, and nine thousand Horse: a formidable Army not so much by the Number, as the Valour of its Troops, who had long serv'd in *Spain*, and learn'd War under the ablest Captains that ever *Carthage* could boast of.

The Passage of the Rhône.

*Polyb. l. 3. p. 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, Edit. Gro-
nov. Liv. l. 21. n. 26-28.*

HANNIBAL ^{having} got within about four Days march from the Mouth of the *Rhône* *, at- * *A little above A-*
tempted to pass it, because in this Place the River ^{vignon.} had no more than the single Breadth of its own Chan-
nel. He brought up all the Canoes and little Boats, which the Inhabitants had in great plenty by Reason of their Commerce. He order'd likewise more to be provided with the greatest haste, together with Floats of Timber. On his Arrival he found the *Gauls* incamp'd upon the opposite Bank, prepar'd to dispute the Passage. It was impracticable to attack them in Front. He therefore order'd a Detachment in the Night. The Thing succeeded as he desir'd, the River was pass'd * the next Day with- * *It is thought that this Passage was between Ro-*
out any Opposition.

THE rest of the Day was given up to Refreshment, and in the Night they advanc'd silently towards the Enemy. In the Morning, when the commanded Signal was given, *Hannibal* prepared to attempt the Passage. One Party of his Horse ready equipp'd, was put into Boats, that their Soldiers might on their Landing immediately fall upon the
R Enemy.

Enemy. The rest of the Horses swam on both Sides of the Boats, from which one single Man held the Bridles of three or four. The Foot cross'd the River either on Floats of Timber, or in small Boats, and a kind of Gondolas, which were no other than the Trunks of Trees hollow'd by themselves. The great Boats were placed in a Line high up in the Current, to break the Force of the Waves, and render the Passage more secure and easy to the small Fleet below. When the *Gauls* saw it sailing upon the River, they, according to their Custom, made a terrible Noise and Howling, and clashing their Bucklers rais'd above their Heads, discharg'd a Tempest of Darts. But they were sufficiently astonished, when they heard a Noise behind them, saw their Tents on Fire, and themselves attack'd Front and Rear. No Way was now left to 'em, but that of Flight, and a precipitate Retreat into their own Towns. The rest of the Troops pass'd the River quietly, and without any Resistance.

THE Elephants still remain'd behind, and caused great Trouble. This was the Method of wasting them over, which was not till the following Day. From the Bank of the River was thrown a Float of Timber two hundred Feet in Length, and fifty in Breadth, which was strongly tied to the Bank by large Ropes, and all cover'd over with Earth, so that the Elephants deceiv'd with this Appearance, thought themselves upon firm Ground. From this first Float proceeded a second, built in the same Fashion, but only a hundred Feet long, and fix'd to the first by Chains easy to unbind. The Females were first put upon the Float, and, the others following, when they were got upon the second Float, it was disengaged from the first, and by the help of small Boats tow'd to the opposite Shore. Then it was sent back to fetch those that were behind. Some fell into the Water, but at last got safe to Shore without the Loss of one single Elephant.

The March which followed the Passage of the Rhône.

Polyb. l. 3. p. 274, &c. Liv. l. 21. n. 31, 32.

THE two Roman Consuls had in the Beginning of the Spring each of them departed from his own Province. *P. Scipio* for *Spain* with sixty Vessels, two Roman Legions, fourteen thousand Foot, twelve hundred Horse of the Allies; *Tiberius Sempronius* for *Sicily*, with a hundred sixty Vessels, two Legions, sixteen thousand Foot, and eighteen hundred Horse of the Allies. The Roman Legion then made four thousand Foot and three hundred Horse. *Sempronius* had made extraordinary Preparations at *Lilybeum*, a Town and Port in *Sicily*, in the View of passing over at once into *Africk*. *Scipio* was equally confident of finding *Hannibal* still in *Spain*, and making that Nation the Theatre of the War. But he was sufficiently astonish'd when on his Arrival at *Marseilles* he was inform'd that *Hannibal* was upon the Banks of the *Rhône*, and preparing to pass it. He detach'd three hundred Horse to view the Posture of the Enemy, and *Hannibal* on his Side detach'd for the same Purpose five hundred *Numidian* Horse, while some of his Men were employ'd in waisting over the Elephants.

AT the same time in the Presence of his Army he gave an Audience to a *Gaulish* Prince near the *Po*, who by an Interpreter assur'd him in the Name of his Nation, that his Arrival was impatiently expected; that the *Gauls* were ready to join him in his March against the *Romans*; that himself would conduct his Army through Places where it would find a plentiful Supply of Provisions. When the Prince was withdrawn, *Hannibal* in a Speech to his Troops magnify'd extremely this Deputation from the *Gauls*, extoll'd with just Praises the Bravery which they had hitherto shewn, and exhorted them to sustain to the last

their Reputation and Glory. The Soldiers, full of Ardour and Courage, with uplifted Hands testify'd their Readiness to follow wherever he led the Way. He appointed the next Day for his March, and, after Vows offer'd for the Safety of all his Soldiers, he dismiss'd them with Orders to take care of themselves by a necessary Refreshment.

IN this Article the *Numidians* return'd. They had met with and attack'd the *Roman* Detachment. The Dispute was obstinate and the Slaughter great considering the Number. A hundred, sixty of the *Romans* were left dead upon the Spot, and more than two hundred of the Enemies. The Honour of the Action fell to the *Romans*, the *Numidians* having withdrawn and left them the Field of Battle. This first Action was interpreted as a Prefage of the Fate of the whole War, and seem'd to promise a happy Issue to the *Romans*, but with great Loss to them, and not till after an obstinate Dispute. On both sides, those who surviv'd the Action, and the Scouts return'd to carry the News to their Generals.

HANNIBAL decamp'd the next Day as he had declared, and cross'd the middle of *Gaul* moving Northward; not that this was the shortest Way to the *Alps*, but in removing him at a Distance from the Sea, it remov'd him likewise so much farther from *Scipio*, and favour'd his Design of bringing all his Forces, undiminish'd by any Action, into *Italy*.

SCIPIO with all the Speed he us'd reach'd not the Place where *Hannibal* pass'd the *Rhône*, till three Days after his Departure. Despairing to overtake him he return'd to his Fleet, and reimbark'd resolute to wait for *Hannibal* at the Foot of the *Alps*. But not to leave *Spain* defenceless, he sent thither his Brother *Cneius* with the greatest Part of his Army, to make head against *Asdrubal*, and himself set forward for *Genoa*, with design to oppose the Army which was in *Gaul* near the *Po* to that of *Hannibal*.

HE after a March of four Days arriv'd at a sort of an Island form'd by the Conflux of two Rivers joyning their Streams at this Place. Here he arbitrated betwixt two Brothers in a Dispute concerning the Succession of the Kingdom. He to whom *Hannibal* adjudg'd it, furnish'd all his Army with Provisions, Cloaths, and Arms. This was the Country of the *Allobroges*: So were the People call'd which at present inhabit the Diocesef or Jurifdictions of *Geneva*, *Vienna*, and *Grenoble*. His March was pretty quiet till he arriv'd at *Durance*; and from thence he reach'd the Foot of the *Alps* without any Opposition.

The Passage over the Alps.

Polyb. l. 3. p. 203-208. Liv. l. 21. n. 32-37.

THE Sight of these Mountains that seem'd to touch the Heavens with their Heads, all cover'd with Snow, where nothing appear'd to the Eye but a few shapeless Cottages scatter'd here and there on the tops of inaccessible Rocks, nothing but meager and starv'd Flocks and hairy Men of a wild and fiery Aspect; this Sight, I say, renewed the Terror which the distant Prospect had inspir'd, and struck a Damp upon the Soldiers Hearts. When they began to ascend, the Mountaineers appeared, who had possess'd themselves of the highest Cliffs, and were preparing to oppose their Passage. So they were forced to halt. Had the Mountaineers, says *Polybius*, but lain in *Ambuscade*, and suffer'd the Troops to entangle themselves in some narrow Passage, and then had come on a sudden and fallen upon them, the Army would have been irrecoverably lost. *Hannibal*, understanding that they kept those Posts only in the Day-time, and quitted them in the Evening; ~~he~~ made himself Master of them by Night. The *Gauls* returning early in the Morning were very much surpriz'd to find their Stations

tions in the Enemy's Hands; but however they were not discourag'd. Being us'd to climb up those Rocks, they from thence attack'd the *Carthaginians* who were upon their March, and harras'd them on all Sides. These had at once to deal with the Enemy, and struggle with the Difficulty of the Places where they could hardly stand. But the greatest Disorder was caus'd by the Horses and Beasts of Burden laden with the Baggage, which, frighted at the Cries and Howling of the *Gauls* that eccho'd among the Mountains in a dreadful Manner, and sometimes wounded by them, tumbled upon the Soldiers, and carry'd them headlong with them down the Precipices that were close to the Road. *Hannibal*, being sensible that the Loss of his Baggage alone was enough to destroy his Army, ran to the Assistance of his Troops, and having put the Enemies to Flight, continued his March without Disturbance or Danger, and came to a Castle, the most important Place in the Country. He became Master of it, as well as of all the neighbouring Villages, where he found a sufficient Quantity of Corn, and Cattle to sustain his Army three Days.

AFTER a pretty quiet March, a new Danger was to be encounter'd withal. The *Gauls*, feigning to profit by the Misfortunes of their Neighbours who had suffer'd for opposing the Passage of the Troops, came to pay their Respects to *Hannibal*, brought him Victuals, offer'd to be his Guides, and left him Hostages as Pledges of their Fidelity. *Hannibal* plac'd no great Confidence in them. The Elephants and Horses march'd in the Front: Whilst himself followed with the main Body of Foot, having a watchful Eye upon every Thing. They came to a very steep and narrow Passage commanded by an Eminence where the *Gauls* had plac'd an Ambuscade. These rushing out on a sudden, attack'd the *Carthaginians* on all sides, rolling upon them Stones of a prodigious Size. The Army would have been entirely routed, had

had not *Hannibal* perform'd Wonders in extricating them out of this Difficulty.

AT last on the ninth Day they reached the Top of the *Alps*. Here the Army halted two Days to rest and refresh themselves after their Fatigue, and then continu'd their March. As it was about the Time of the setting of the *Pleiades*^a, a great deal of Snow was lately fallen, and cover'd all the Roads, which caus'd Disorder and Discouragement among the Troops. *Hannibal* perceived it, and stopping on a Hill from whence there was a View of all *Italy*, shew'd them the fruitful Plains^b water'd by the River *Po*, which were almost within Reach, adding that a little more Pains would carry them thither. He represented to them that a Battle or two would put a glorious Period to their Labours, and enrich them for ever, by rendering them Masters of the Capital of the *Roman* Empire. This Speech, full of such pleasing Hopes, and countenanc'd by the Sight of *Italy*, and almost of *Rome* itself, inspired the disheartened Soldiers with fresh Vigor and Alacrity. They pursu'd therefore their March. But the Road did not mend at all: On the contrary, as they were going down, the Difficulty and Danger increased. For the Ways were almost every where steep, narrow, and slippery, so that the Soldiers could neither keep their Feet as they walk'd, nor recover themselves when they made a false Step, but tumbled and beat one another down.

THEY came to a worse Place than any they had yet met with. It was a Path naturally very steep, which being grown more dangerous by a late falling of Earth, ended in a large Precipice above a thousand Foot deep. Here the Horse stop'd short. *Hannibal*, wondering at this sudden Halt, ran to the Place

^a The Pleiades are a Constellation that rises about the Vernal Equinox, for which Reason it is

call'd by the Latins *Vergiliz*; and sets in Autumn.

^b Of Piedmont.

and saw that in effect it was impossible to go any further. He was for going about and fetching a large Compass: But this was likewise found impracticable. As upon the old Snow, which was grown hard by lying, there was some newly fallen that was of no great Depth, the Feet sinking into it afforded a firm Support: But this being soon dissolved by the treading of the foremost Troops, and of the Beasts of Burden they march'd on the bare Ice, which was so slippery that there was no standing, and, if they made the least false Step, or endeavour'd to save themselves with their Hands or Knees, there were no Boughs or Roots to take hold of. Besides this Inconvenience, the Horses, striking their Feet into the Ice to keep themselves from falling, could not pull them out again, but remained caught as in a Gin. They were forc'd therefore to find some other Expedient.

HANNIBAL chose to encamp and let his Troops rest for some time on the Top of this Hill which was of a considerable Extent, but not without having first clear'd the Ground, and removed all the Snow, as well the old as the new fallen, which was a Work of immense Pains. He afterwards ordered a Path to be cut into the Rock itself, and this was carried on with an amazing Ardor and Constancy. To open and make the Place wider, all the Trees that stood near were cut down, and placed round the Rock, and then set on Fire. The Wind by good Luck blowing hard, a fierce Flame was soon lighted, so that the Rock glow'd like the very Coals where-with it was surrounded. Then *Hannibal*, if we may believe *Livy*, for *Polybius* says nothing of it, caus'd a great Quantity of Vinegar to be poured on ^c, which getting

^c Many reject this Fact as fictitious. *Pliny* takes notice of that remarkable Quality in Vinegar, its being able to break Rocks and Stones. Saxa rumpit infusum,

quæ non ruperit ignis antecessens. l. 23. c. 1. Therefore he calls it Succus rerum domitor. l. 33. *Dio* speaking of the Siege of Eleuthera, saith that the Walls of

getting into the Veins of the Rock that was crack'd with the fervent Heat of the Fire, calcined and mollified it. Thus taking a large Compass about, that the Descent might be the easier, they cut a Way in the Rock which afforded a free Passage to the Troops, the Baggage, and even to the Elephants. Four Days were spent about this Work: In the mean time the Beasts of Burden were starving, for there was nothing for them to eat on those Mountains buried in Snow. They came at last into cultivated and fruitful Grounds, that yielded plenty of Forrage for the Horses, and all kinds of Food for the Soldiers.

The Entrance into Italy.

Polyb. l. 3. p. 209. and 212—214. Liv. l. 21. n. 39.

WHEN *Hannibal* made his Entrance into *Italy*, his Army was not near so numerous as when he left *Spain*, wherein we have seen it amounted to about sixty thousand Men. It had undergone great Losses during the March, whether in the Battles it was forc'd to maintain, or in the Passage of Rivers. At its Departure from the *Rhône*, it still consisted of thirty-eight thousand Foot, and above eight thousand Horse. The Passage of the *Alps* destroyed near half this Number. So that *Hannibal* had remaining but twelve thousand *Africans*, eight thousand *Spanish* Foot, and six thousand Horse. This Account he himself set down on a Pillar near the Promontory. It was now five Months and a half since his setting out from *New Carthage*, including the fifteen Days he spent in getting over the *Alps*, when he set up his Stand-

of it were made to fall with the Help of Vinegar. l. 36. p. 8. What seems improbable in this Matter, is the Difficulty of Han-

nibal's getting in those Mountains a sufficient Quantity of Vinegar for this Purpose.

ards

ards in the Plains of the *Po*—(at the Entrance of *Piedmont*.) It might be then about the Month of *September*.

HIS first Care was to give his Troops some Rest, which they stood in great need of. When he saw them well refreshed, the Inhabitants of the Territory of *Turin*^d, refusing to enter into an Alliance with him, he went and encamped before their chief City, carried it in three Days, and put all his Opposers to the Sword. This Expedition threw the *Barbarians* into so great a Consternation, that they all came of their own Accord, and surrendered at Discretion. The rest of the *Gauls* would have done the same, had not the Dread of the *Roman Army*, which was approaching, put a Stop to their Resolution. *Hannibal* then thought he had no Time to lose, that his Business was to advance into the Country, and venture upon some great Exploit, such as might induce those that should have an Inclination to declare for him, to a Reliance on his Valour.

THIS quick and extraordinary Progress of *Hannibal* alarmed *Rome*, and caus'd a great Consternation there. *Sempronius* was order'd to quit *Sicily* and come to the Relief of his Country, and *P. Scipio*, the other Consul, advanced with the utmost Expedition towards the Enemy, passed the *Po*, and went and encamped near the *Tesin*^e.

The Battle of the Horse near the Tesin.

Polyb. l. 3. p. 214—218. Liv. l. 21. n. 39—47.

THE Armies being in sight, the Generals harangu'd their Soldiers, before they came to an Engagement. *Scipio*, after having represented to his Troops the Glory of their Country, and the noble Achievements of their Ancestors, put them in mind

^d *Taurini.*

^e *A small River of Italy in Lombardy.*

that the Victory was in their Hands, since they had only to do with *Carthaginians*, a People so often conquered, reduced to be their Tributaries for twenty Years, and accustomed for a long Time to be almost their Slaves: That the Victory they had gained over the choice Body of the *Carthaginian* Horse, was a sure Pledge of their Success, during the Remainder of the War. That *Hannibal*, in passing over the *Alps*, had just lost the best Part of his Army; and the few he had left were half dead with Hunger, Cold, Fatigue, and Extremity of Misery; that their shewing themselves was enough to put to Flight Troops that looked more like Ghosts than Men: That in short the Victory was become necessary, not only to defend *Italy*, but to save *Rome* herself, whose Fate the Battle was going to decide, she having no other Army to oppose the Enemy withal.

HANNIBAL, that his Words might have the greater Effect upon the rude Minds of his Soldiers, speaks to their Eyes, before he addresses to their Ears, persuading them with Arguments, till he had moved them by the following Spectacle. He arms some of the Prisoners he had taken in the Mountains, and sets them to fight two and two in the Sight of his Army, promising to reward the Conquerors with Liberty and noble Presents. The Alacrity wherewith these *Barbarians* engaged upon these Motives, gives *Hannibal* an Occasion of laying before his Soldiers a lively Representation of the State they were in; which, by depriving them of all Means of going back, puts them under an absolute Necessity either of conquering or dying, in order to avoid the endless Evils prepared for those that should be so cowardly as to yield to the *Romans*. He displays to them the Greatness of their Reward, the Conquest of all *Italy*, the plundering the rich and wealthy City of *Rome*, an illustrious Victory, and immortal Glory. He speaks contemptibly of the *Roman* Power, the false Lustre of which ought not to dazzle such
Warri-

Warriours as they, who were come from the Pillars of *Hercules*, through the fiercest Nations, into the very Heart of *Italy*. As for his part, he scorns to compare himself with *Scipio*, a General of six Months standing. He, who was almost born, brought up at least in the Tent of *Amilcar* his Father, the Conqueror of *Spain*, of *Gaul*, of the Inhabitants of the *Alps*, and what is more, the Conqueror of the *Alps* themselves. He kindles their Indignation against the Insolence of the *Romans*, who had dared to demand him and the rest who had taken *Saguntum*; and stirs up their Jealousy against the intolerable Pride of those imperious Masters, who imagine all must obey them, and that they have a Right to give Laws to the whole World.

AFTER these Speeches, both Sides prepare for Battle. *Scipio*, having laid a Bridge over the *Tesin*, marched his Troops over. Two ill Omens * had filled his Army with Fear and Consternation. As for the *Carthaginians*, they were brisk and full of Courage. *Hannibal* animates them with fresh Promises, and, cleaving with a Stone the Skull of the Lamb he was sacrificing, prays *Jupiter*, that he may be struck in like manner, if he did not give his Soldiers their promised Rewards.

SCIPIO places in the Front, the Dart-throwers, with the *Gaulish* Horse, and forms his second Line of the choice Cavalry of the Allies, then advances with a gentle Pace. *Hannibal* comes on to meet him with his whole Cavalry, in the Center of which are placed the Horsemen, that ride with Bridles, and the *Numidian* on^a the Wings, with Design to surround the Enemy. The Officers and Sol-

* These two ill Omens were, 1st, That a Wolf stole into the Camp of the Romans, and cruelly mangled some of the Soldiers, without receiving the least harm from those that endeavoured to

kill it: And 2d, That a Swarm of Bees pitched upon a Tree near the Prætorium or General's Tent. Liv. l. 21. c. 46.

^c The Numidians ride without Saddle or Bridle.

diers being eager to engage, the Battle begins. At the first Onset, scarce had the Light-arm'd Troops thrown their Darts, when frightened at the *Carthaginian* Horse which was pouring upon them, and fearing lest they should be trampled under the Horses Feet, they gave Way, and retired through the Spaces that were between the Squadrons. The Fight lasted a long Time with equal Success. Many on both Sides alighted from their Horses, so that the Action came to be carried on with Infantry, as well as Cavalry. In the mean time the *Numidians* surround the Enemy, and fall upon the Rear of the Dart-Men, who had at first escaped the Shock of the Cavalry, and tread them under their Horses Feet. The Center of the *Roman* Forces had hitherto fought with a great Bravery; many were killed on both Sides, and even more on the Part of the *Carthaginians*. But the *Roman* Troops were put into Disorder by the *Numidians*, who attack'd them in the Rear, and especially a Wound the Consul receiv'd, which disabled him from fighting. This General was rescued out of the Enemies Hands by the Bravery of his Son, then but seventeen Years old, who afterwards was honoured with the Sirname of *Africanus*, for having put a glorious Period to this War.

THE Consul, thus dangerously wounded, retired in good Order, and was carried into his Camp by a Body of Horse, which covered him with their Arms and Bodies: The rest of the Army followed him. He hasten'd to the *Po*, over which he pass'd his Troops, and then broke down the Bridge; which hindered *Hannibal* from overtaking him.

IT is agreed, that for this first Victory *Hannibal* was indebted to his Cavalry; and from that Time 'twas deem'd that the main Strength of his Army consisted in his Horse, and therefore the *Romans* were to avoid large and open Plains, like those between the *Po* and the *Alps*.

IMMEDIATELY after the Battle of the *Tesin*, all the neighbouring *Gauls* strove who should be first to come and submit to *Hannibal*, to furnish him with Ammunition, and to list themselves in his Army. And this was, as *Polybius* hath already observed, what chiefly induced that wise and skilful General, notwithstanding the small Number, and the Weakness of his Troops, to run the Hazard of a Battle, which was become absolutely necessary for him in the Impossibility he was reduced to of going back whenever he should have a Mind, because nothing but a Battle would bring the *Gauls* to declare for him, whose Assistance was the only Refuge he had left in the present Juncture.

The Battle of Trebia.

Polyb. l. 23. p. 220---227. Liv. l. 21. n. 51---56.

SEMPRONIUS the Consul, upon the Senate's Orders, returned from *Sicily* to *Ariminum*. From thence he marched towards *Trebia*, a small River of *Lombardy*, which falls into the *Po* a little above *Placentia*, where he joined his Troops with *Scipio's*. *Hannibal* advanced towards the Camp of the *Romans*, from which he was parted only by that small River. The Nearness of the Armies to one another, gave occasion to frequent Skirmishes, in one of which *Sempronius*, at the Head of a Body of Horse, gain'd some small Advantage over a Party of *Carthaginians*, which very much increased the high Opinion, this General naturally had of his own Merit.

THIS inconsiderable Success seemed to him a compleat Victory. He boasted of having conquered the Enemy in the same kind of Fight, wherein his Colleague had been defeated, and thereby reviv'd the Courage of the dejected *Romans*. Bent upon coming as soon as possible to a decisive Battle, he thought fit,

it, out of Decency, to consult *Scipio*, whom he found to be of a quite different Opinion from him. *Scipio* represented, that if Time was given for disciplining the new Levies during the Winter, they would be of much greater Service in the ensuing Campaign; that the *Gauls*, naturally fickle and inconstant, would fall off by degrees from *Hannibal*; that as soon as his Wounds was healed, his Presence might be of some Use in a Matter of such general Concern: In short, he besought him earnestly not to proceed any further.

THESE Reasons how weighty soever, made no Impression upon *Sempronius*. He saw under his Command sixteen thousand *Romans*, and twenty thousand Allies, besides the Cavalry; which Number in those Days made up a compleat Army, when both Consuls joined their Forces. The Enemies Troops amounted to near the same Number. This seemed to him a very favourable Juncture. He said loudly, that all were desirous of a Battle, except his Colleague, whose Mind being more affected by his Wound than his Body, could not bear to hear of an Engagement. But was it reasonable to let all the World droop and languish with him? What could he expect more? Did he wait for the coming of a third Consul, and a new Army to his Assistance? Such Discourses as these he used among the Soldiers, and even *Scipio's* Tent rung with them. The Time of the Election of new Generals being at Hand, he was afraid a Successor would be sent before he had made an End of the War, so thought he should take Advantage of his Colleague's Illness, to secure to himself the sole Honour of the Victory. As he did not, says *Polybius*, mind the Season that was fit for Action, but convenient for himself, he could not fail of taking wrong Measures. He therefore gave his Men Orders to prepare to fight.

THIS was the Thing *Hannibal* wished for, holding it for a Maxim, that a General, when he is once got into a foreign or an Enemy's Country, and has formed

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ed some great Design, has no other Refuge but to enliven continually the Expectations of his Allies by some fresh Exploits. Besides, knowing he should have to deal only with new levied and unexperienc'd Troops, he was for making the most of the Eagerness of the *Gauls*, who were extremely desirous of fighting, and of *Scipio's* Absence, who could not, by reason of his Wound, attend the Battle. *Mago* then was ordered to lie in Ambush with two thousand Men, both Horse and Foot, on the steep Banks of a small Rivulet, that ran between the two Camps, and to conceal himself among the Bushes that grew there in great Plenty. An Ambuscade is generally safer in a flat and open Country, but full of Thickets, as was this, than in Woods, because such a Place is less apt to be suspected. He caused after that a Detachment of *Numidian* Cavalry to pass the *Trebia*, with Orders to advance at Break of Day up to the very Gates of the Enemy's Camp, in order to provoke them to fight, and then to retreat, and come back over the River in order to draw the *Romans* after them. What he had foreseen, came to pass. The eager *Sempronius* immediately dispatched against the *Numidians* his whole Cavalry, then six thousand Dart-Men, which were soon followed by all the rest of the Army. The *Numidians* ran away designedly: the *Romans* pursued them with Eagerness, and passed the *Trebia* without Resistance, but not without great Hardships, being forced to wade up to their very Arm-Pits through the Rivulet, which was swollen with Torrents that came down in the Night from the neighbouring Mountains. It was then about the Winter-Solstice; that is, in the Month of *December*. It happened to snow that Day, and the Cold was excessively piercing. The *Romans* were come out fasting, and without taking any Precaution: Whereas the *Carthaginians* had, by *Hannibal's* Order, eaten and drunk plentifully in their Tents, had got their Horses in a Readiness, had

had rubbed themselves with Oil, and put on their Armour by the Fire.

IN this Case they were when the Fight began. The *Romans* defended themselves courageously for a considerable time, though they were oppressed and exhausted with Hunger, Fatigue and Cold. But their Cavalry was at length routed, and put to Flight by the *Carthaginian*, which much exceeded theirs in Number and Strength. Disorder soon ensued likewise among the Infantry. The Ambuscade falling out at a proper Time, rushed on a sudden upon their Rear, and completed the Overthrow. A Body of above ten thousand Men, resolutely fought their Way through the *Gauls* and *Africans*, of whom they made a dreadful Slaughter; but as they could neither assist their Friends, nor return to the Camp, the Way being block'd up by the *Numidian* Horse, the River, and the Rain, they retired in good Order to *Placentia*. Most of the rest perished on the Banks of the River, being trampled to Death by the Elephants and Horses. Such as escaped went and join'd the Body above-mentioned. The next Night *Scipio* retired also to *Placentia*. On the Side of the *Carthaginians* the Victory was compleat, and their Loss withal but inconsiderable, except that great Numbers of their Horses were destroyed with the Cold, the Rain, and the Snow, and of all their Elephants not above one could be saved.

IN *Spain*, the *Romans* met with better Success, in Polyb. this and the next Campaign. For *Cn. Scipio* carried his Conquests as far as the River *Iberus*, de- 1.3. p. 228, 229. seated *Hanno*, and took him Prisoner. Liv. l. 21. n. 60, 61.

HANNIBAL took the Opportunity, while Polyb. he was in Winter-Quarters, to refresh his Troops, P. 229. and win the Inhabitants of the Country. To that Purpose, after having declared to the Prisoners he had taken from the *Roman* Allies, that he was not

come to make War upon them, but to restore the *Italians* to their Liberty, and protect them against the *Romans*, he sent 'em all back into their Country without Ransom.

Liv. l. 21. n. 58. THE Winter was hardly over, when he marched towards *Tuscany*, where he made haste to go for two important Reasons: First, To avoid the ill Effects of the Jealousy and Hatred of the *Gauls*, who were tired with the long Stay of the *Carthaginian* Army in their Territories, and impatient of bearing the whole Burden of a War in which they had engaged with no other View but to carry it into the Country of their common Enemies. Secondly, That he might by some brave and bold Attempt increase the Reputation of his Arms among all the Inhabitants of *Italy*, by carrying the War to the very Gates of *Rome*, and animate afresh his Troops, and the *Gauls* his Allies, by the Plunder of the Enemies Lands. But in his Passage over the *Apennines*, he was surpriz'd with a horrible Tempest, which destroy'd great Numbers of his Men. The Cold, the Rain, the Winds, the Hail seem'd to have conspired his Ruin, so that what the *Carthaginians* had suffered in passing the *Alps*, seem'd to them as nothing in Comparison of this. He went back therefore to *Placentia*, where he came to a second Battle with *Sempronius*, who was also returned from *Rome*. The Loss on both Sides was very near equal.

Polyb. ibid. Liv. l. 22. n. 1. Appian. in Bell. Annib. p. 316. WHILST he was in these Winter-Quarters, he bethought himself of a true *Carthaginian* Stratagem. He was surrounded with fickle and inconstant Nations: The Friendship he had contracted with them, was but of a fresh Date. He had reason to be apprehensive of an Alteration in their Minds, and consequently of Attempts upon his Life. To secure himself therefore, he got Perukes made, and Clothes fit for every Age. Of these he sometimes wore one, sometimes another, and disguised himself so often, that not only such as saw him by the by, but

but even his intimate Acquaintance could not know him.

AT Rome *Cn. Servilius* and *C. Flaminius* had been named Consuls. *Hannibal* being inform'd that the latter was already come to *Arretium*, a Town of *Tuscany*, resolv'd to go and meet him as soon as possible. Of two Ways shewn him, he chose the shortest, though the most difficult, nay almost impassable, by reason of a Marsh which he was forced to go through. Here the Army underwent incredible Hardships. For four Days and three Nights, they march'd half way up their Legs in Water, without being able to have a Moment's Sleep. *Hannibal* himself, who rid upon the only Elephant he had left, could hardly get through. His continual Watchings, and the thick Vapours that exhaled from that watery Place, together with the Unhealthfulness of the Season, made him lose one of his Eyes.

The Battle of Thrasymenus.

Polyb. l. 3. p. 231—238. Liv. 22. n. 3—8.

HANNIBAL being thus unexpectedly got out of this dangerous Place, refresh'd his Troops, and then went and encamp'd between *Arretium* and *Fesula*, in the richest and most fruitful Part of *Tuscany*. His first Endeavours were to discover the Character of *Flaminius*, that he might take Advantage of his Foible; which, according to *Polybius*, ought to be the chief Study of a General. He learned that *Flaminius* was a Man conceited of his own Merit, bold, enterprising, rash, and greedy of Glory. To hurry him the more into these Extravagancies to which he was naturally liable^a, he began with provoking

^a Apparebat ferociter omnia agitare eum atque irritare Pa-
ac præpropere acturum. Quo- nus parat. *Liv. l. 22. n. 3.*
que pronior esset in sua viis.

his rash Spirit by burning and plundering the whole Country in his Sight.

FLAMINIUS was not of a Temper to remain unactive in his Camp, even though *Hannibal* should have lain still. But when he saw the Lands of his Allies ravaged before his Eyes, he thought it a Dishonour to let *Hannibal* ransack *Italy* without Controul, and advance to the very Walls of *Rome*, without meeting any Resistance. He rejected with Scorn the prudent Counsels of those who advised him to wait for the coming of his Colleague, and to be contented for the present with putting a Stop to the Devastations of the Enemy.

IN the mean time *Hannibal* was still advancing towards *Rome*, having *Cortona* on the left, and the Lake *Thrasymenus* on the right. When he saw that the Consul closely pursued him, with Design to stop his March by giving him Battle, having observed that the Place was commodious for that Purpose, he began likewise to put himself in a Readiness to fight. The Lake *Thrasymenus* and the bottom of the Mountains of *Cortona* form a very narrow Defile, which leads into a large Valley, lined on both Sides by Hills of a considerable Height, and closed at the further End by a steep Hill of a difficult Access. On this Hill *Hannibal*, having crossed the Valley, came and encamped with the main Body of his Army, placing his light-arm'd Infantry in Ambush upon the Hills on the right, and posted part of his Cavalry behind those on the left, as far as to the Entrance of the Defile through which *Flaminius* was obliged to pass. This General, who was eagerly pursuing the Enemy with a Resolution to fight him, being come to the Defile near the Lake, was forced to halt, because Night was coming on; but he marched through the next Morning at Break of Day.

HANNIBAL let him advance with all his Troops above half way through the Valley, when seeing

seeing the *Roman* Van-guard very near him, he found a Charge, and sent Orders to his Troops to come out of their Ambush, that he might fall at the same Time upon the Enemy from all Sides. One may guess at the Consternation of the *Romans*.

THEY were not yet drawn up, neither had they got their Arms in a Readiness, when they found themselves attacked in Front, in Rear, and in Flank; In a moment, all the Ranks were put into Disorder. *Flaminius* alone undaunted in so universal a Consternation, animates his Soldiers both with his Hand and Voice, and exhorts them to hew themselves a Passage with their Swords through the midst of the Enemies. But the Tumult which every where reign'd, the dreadful Outcries of the Enemies, and a Fog that was risen, hindered his being either seen or heard. Mean while, when they found themselves surrounded on all Sides by the Enemies or the Lake; the Impossibility of saving their Lives by Flight, rouz'd up their Courage, and both Sides began to fight with an astonishing Fury. Their Eagerness was so great, that they perceiv'd not an Earthquake which happen'd in that Country, and buried whole Cities in their own Ruins. In this Confusion *Flaminius* being slain by one of the *Insubrian Gauls*, the *Romans* began to give Ground, and at last openly to run away. Great Numbers, to save themselves, leaped into the Lake; others climbing over the Mountains, fell into the Enemies Hands, whom they were endeavouring to avoid. Six thousand only opened themselves a Way through the Conquerors, and retreated to a Place of Safety: But the next Day they surrendered, and were made Prisoners. In this Battle were killed sixteen thousand *Romans*. About ten thousand escaped to *Rome*, through different Ways. *Hannibal* sent back the *Latines*, Allies of the *Romans*, into their own Country without Ransom. He ordered Search to be made for the Body of *Flaminius*, that he might give it Burial, but it could not be found.

found. Afterwards he put his Troops into Quarters to refresh themselves, and solemnized the Funerals of thirty of his Officers, who were slain in the Battle. He lost in all but fifteen hundred Men, and most of them Gauls.

IMMEDIATELY after, *Hannibal* dispatch'd a Courier to *Carthage* with the News of his good Success in *Italy*. This caused an excessive Joy for the present, rais'd wondrous Hopes for the future, and revived the Courage of all the Citizens. They applied themselves with incredible Zeal to take proper Measures for sending into *Italy* and *Spain* all necessary Succours.

AT *Rome*, on the contrary, there was an universal Grief and Alarm, as soon as the Prætor had pronounced from the Tribune of Harangues * these Words, *We have lost a great Battle*. The Senate, wholly taken up with the publick Good, thought that in so great a Calamity and so pressing a Danger, Recourse must be had to extraordinary Remedies. They chose therefore for Dictator *Quintus Fabius*, a Person as eminent for his Wisdom as Birth. It was the Custom at *Rome*, that the Moment a Dictator was nam'd, all Authority ceased, except that of the Tribunes of the People. *M. Minucius* was appointed to be his General of Horse. It was now the second Year of the War.

Hannibal's Conduct with respect to Fabius.

Polyb. l. 23. p. 239—255. Liv. l. 22. n. 9—30.

HANNIBAL, after the Battle of *Thrasymenas*, not thinking it yet proper to march directly to *Rome*, was satisfied with scouting about, and ravaging the Country. He crossed *Umbria* and *Picenum*,

* So the Pulpit or Rostrum was called, from whence the Roman Orators harangued the People.

and, after a ten Days March, came into the Territory of *Adria* *. In this March he got a very considerable Booty. As he was an implacable Enemy to the *Romans*, he had given Orders that all such as were able to bear Arms, should be put to the Sword; and finding no Obstacle any where, he advanced as far as *Apulia*, plundering the Countries that lay in his Way, and carrying Desolation wherever he came, in order to compel the People to forsake the Alliance of the *Romans*, and to let all *Italy* see that *Rome* quite dispirited, yielded him the Victory.

FABIUS, accompanied with *Minucius* and four Legions, was gone from *Rome* in Quest of the Enemy, but with a firm Resolution not to give him the least Advantage, nor to stir without having viewed every Place, and not to hazard a Battle till he was sure of Success.

As soon as both Armies were in Sight, *Hannibal*, to terrify the *Roman* Troops, offered them Battle, advancing very near the Entrenchments of their Camp. But finding there every thing quiet, he withdrew, blaming outwardly his Enemies Cowardise, whom he upbraided with having lost that Martial Valour so natural to their Ancestors, but inwardly vexed to the Heart, to find he had to deal with a General so different from *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*, and that the *Romans*, grown wiser by their Defeat, had at last pitched upon a Commander capable of withstanding *Hannibal*.

FROM that Moment he perceived it would not be brisk and daring Attacks he should have to fear from the Dictator, but a prudent and regular Conduct, which might throw him into very great Streights. It remained to know whether the new General had Firmness enough steadily to pursue the Plan he seemed to have formed. He tried therefore to alter his Resolution by his frequent Removals from Place to

* A small Town which gave Name to the Adriatick Sea.

Place, by plundering the Lands, pillaging the Cities, and burning the Towns and Villages. Sometimes he decamped with the utmost Precipitation, and sometimes stop'd short in some private Valley, to see whether he could not come out and surprize him in the open Field. But *Fabius* still kept his Troops on Eminencies, without however losing Sight of *Hannibal*; never approaching the Enemy near enough for an Engagement, nor yet keeping at such a Distance as might give him an Opportunity to get away from him. He never suffered his Soldiers to stir out of his Camp but to forage, and then not without a numerous Convoy. If he engaged, it was only in slight Skirmishes, and with so much Caution, that his Troops had always the Advantage. By this Mean he insensibly revived the Courage of the Soldiers, whom the Loss of three Battles had quite dishearten'd, and enabled them to rely as formerly on their Valour and good Success.

HANNIBAL, having got an immense Booty in *Campania*, where he had staid a considerable time, departed from thence with his Army that he might not consume the Provisions he had gathered, and which he reserved for the Winter-Season. Besides, he could no longer remain in a Country of Gardens and Vineyards, more agreeable to the Sight, than useful for the Subsistence of an Army; where he would have been reduced to pass his Winter-Quarters among Marshes, Rocks and Sands, while the *Romans* would have drawn plentiful Supplies from *Capua*, and the richest Countries of *Italy*. He therefore resolved to remove to some other Parts.

FABIUS rightly judg'd that *Hannibal* would be obliged to return the same Way he came, and that it would be an easy Matter to annoy him during his March. He begins with throwing a considerable Body of Troops into, and thereby securing *Casertum*, a small Town situated on the *Vulturnus*, which parted the Territories of *Falernum* and *Capua*.

After-

Afterwards he detaches four thousand Men to go and seize the only narrow Passage through which *Hannibal* could come out; and then, according to his usual Custom, posts himself with the Remainder of the Army on the Eminencies adjoining to the Road.

THE *Carthaginians* come and encamp in the Plain at the Foot of the Mountains. For this once the crafty *Carthaginian* fell into the same Snare he had laid for *Flaminius* at the Defile of *Thrasymenus*; and it seem'd impossible for him ever to get out of this Difficulty, there being but one Passage, which the *Romans* were Masters of. *Fabius*, thinking himself sure of his Prey, was only contriving how to seize it. He flatter'd himself with the probable Hopes of putting an End to the War by this one Action. Nevertheless he thought fit to defer the Attack till the next Day.

HANNIBAL perceived that ^a his own Artifices were put in Practice against him. In such Junctures it is that a General has need of a great Presence of Mind, and an uncommon Firmness of Soul, to consider the Danger in its utmost Extent without being terrified, and to find out sure and quick Expedients without tedious Deliberations. The *Carthaginian* General caus'd immediately two thousand Oxen to be got together, and order'd small Bundles of Vine-branches to be tied to their Horns. These he command'd to be set on Fire in the middle of the Night, and the Oxen to be driv'n to the Top of the Hills where the *Romans* were encamp'd. As soon as those Creatures felt the Fire, the Pain putting them in a Rage, they dispers'd themselves on every side, and communicat'd the Fire to the Shrubs and Bushes they met in their Way. This new kind of Squadron was supported by a good Number of light-armed Soldiers, who had Orders to gain the Top of the Mountain, and to fall upon the Enemies in case

^a Nec Annibalem fecellit suis se artibus peti. *Liv.*

they should meet them. Every thing succeeded according as *Hannibal* had foreseen. The *Romans* that guarded the Defile, seeing the Fires spread upon the Hills that were above them, and thinking that it was *Hannibal* making his Escape by Torch-light, quit their Post, and run up to the Mountains to oppose his Passage. The main Body of the Army not knowing what to make of all this Tumult, and *Fabius* himself not daring to stir for fear of a Surprize, stand waiting for the Return of the Day. *Hannibal* takes hold of this Opportunity, gets his Troops and the Spoil through the narrow Defile which now remained unguarded; and rescues his Army out of a Snare in which a little more Briskness in *Fabius* would either have destroyed, or at least very much weakened it. 'Tis a noble Thing for a Man to know how to turn his very Errors to his Advantage, and make them subservient to his own Glory.

THE *Carthaginian* Army returned to *Apulia*, still followed and harrassed by the *Romans*. The Dictator being obliged to take a Journey to *Rome* about some religious Ceremonies earnestly intreated his General of Horse, before his Departure, not to come to any Engagement during his Absence. *Minucius* regarded neither his Advice nor Entreaties, but the very first Opportunity he had, while part of *Hannibal's* Troops were gone out to forage, he fell upon the rest, and got some Advantage. Of this he immediately sent Word to *Rome*, as if he had obtained a considerable Victory. The News of this with what had just before happened at the Passage of the Defile, rais'd Complaints and Murmurings against the slow and timorous Circumspection of *Fabius*. In short, the Matter came to that pass that the People gave his General of Horse an equal Authority with him; a Thing unheard of before. He was upon the Road when he received Notice of this: For he had left *Rome*, that he might not be an Eye-witness of what was contriving against him. His Constancy remained
for

for all this unshaken. He knew very well that although his Authority in the Command was divided, his Skill in the Art of War was not so*. This soon became manifest.

MINUCIUS, grown arrogant at the Advantage he had got over his Collegue, propos'd that they should command each their Day, or even a longer Space. But *Fabius* reject'd this Proposal, which would have expos'd the whole Army to Danger, whilst under the Command of *Minucius*. He chose rather to divide the Troops, that it might be in his Power to preserve at least the Part that should fall to his Share.

HANNIBAL, fully informed of all that pass'd in the Roman Camp, was over-joy'd to hear of the Diffension of the two Commanders. He took care to offer a Bait, and lay a Snare for the rash *Minucius*; who ran headlong into it, and engag'd the Enemy on an Eminence, in which an Ambush was hid. His Troops were soon put into Disorder, and were going to be cut in Pieces, when *Fabius*, inform'd by the first Outcries of the Wounded, called out to his Soldiers: "Let us run to the Assistance of *Minucius*." "Let us go and snatch the Victory from the Enemies, and force from our Fellow-citizens an Acknowledgment of their Fault." This Assistance of his came very seasonably, and compell'd *Hannibal* to found a Retreat. As he was retiring, he said, "that the Cloud which had been hovering for a long time on the Tops of the Mountains had at last burst with a loud Crack, and caus'd a great Storm." So important and so seasonable a Service as this of the Dictator open'd the Eyes of *Minucius*. He acknowledg'd his Error, return'd immediately to his Duty and Obedience, and shew'd that it is sometimes more glorious to know how to repair a Fault, than not to have committ'd it. //

* Satis scdens haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi equatam. *Liv. l. 22. p. 26.*

The State of Affairs in Spain.

Polyb. l. 3. p. 245—250. Liv. l. 22. n. 19—22.

DURING this same Campaign, *Cn. Scipio*, having suddenly fallen upon the *Carthaginian* Fleet, defeated it, and advanced plundering all the Way, up to the very Walls of *New Carthage*, and carried off a great Booty. This Victory made the *Romans* understand that they ought to be particularly intent upon the Affairs of *Spain*, because *Hannibal* could draw from that Country considerable Supplies both of Men and Money. They sent a Fleet thither, the Command whereof was given to *P. Scipio*, who, after his Arrival in *Spain*, having joined his Brother, did the Commonwealth very great Service. Till that Time the *Romans* had never ventur'd beyond the *Ebro*. They were satisfied with gaining the Friendship of the People between that River and *Italy*, and confirming it by Alliances: But under *Publius* they got over the *Ebro*, and carried their Arms beyond it into the very Heart of *Spain*.

WHAT contributed most to promote their Affairs, was the Treachery of a *Spaniard* at *Saguntum*. *Hannibal* had left there in Trust the Children of the most distinguished Families in *Spain*, whom he had taken as Hostages. *Abelox*, for so was the *Spaniard* called, persuaded *Bostar* the Governor of the Place, to send back these young Men into their Country, in order thereby to bind more firmly the Inhabitants to the *Carthaginian* Interest. This Commission he himself was charged withal. But he conducted them to the *Romans*, who delivered them afterwards to their Parents, and gained their Friendship by so acceptable a Present.

The Battle of Cannæ.

Polyb. l. 3. p. 255—268. Liv. l. 22. m. 34—54.

THE next Spring *C. Terentius Varro*, and *L. Æmilius Paulus* were chosen Consuls at Rome. In this Campaign, which was the third of the second *Punick War*, was done what had never been practised before, and that was to compose the Army of eight Legions, each consisting of five thousand Men, besides the Allies. For, as we have already observ'd, the *Romans* never rais'd but four Legions, each of which consisted of about four thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse^a. It was never but in the most important Occasions that they put five thousand of one sort, and four hundred of the other. As for the Troops of the Allies, their Infantry was equal to that of the Legions, but they had three times as many Horse. To each of the Consuls was commonly given half of the Troops of the Allies with two Legions, that they might act separately; and it was very seldom that all these Forces were used at the same Time, and in the same Expedition. Here the *Romans* make use not only of four but of eight Legions, so important does the Matter seem to them. Nay, the Senate thought fit that the two Consuls of the foregoing Year, *Servilius* and *Attilius*, should serve in the Army in Quality of *Proconsuls*: But the latter could not do it by reason of his great Age.

VARRO, at his setting out from Rome, had openly declared that he would fall upon the Enemy, at the very first Opportunity, and put a Conclusion to the War; adding, that there would never be an End of it, so long as such Men as *Fabius* were at the Head of the *Roman* Armies. Some small Ad-

^a Polybius puts but two hundred Horse in each Legion: But take either of the Author or the Transcriber.

J. Lipsius thinks that it is a Mistake.

vantage gained over the *Carthaginians*, of which near seventeen hundred were killed, very much increased his Boldness and Arrogance. As for *Hannibal*, he look'd upon this Loss as a real Advantage, being persuaded that it would serve as a Bait to the Consul's Rashness, and spur him on to a Battle; which he wanted extreamly. It was known afterwards, that he was reduced to such a Scarcity of Provisions, that he could not possibly have subsisted ten Days longer. The *Spaniards* were already thinking to leave him. So that there would have been an End of him and his Army, if his good Fortune had not thrown a *Varro* in his Way.

BOTH Armies having often removed from Place to Place, came in Sight of each other near *Canna*, a little Town in *Apulia*, situated upon the River *Aufidus*. As *Hannibal* was encamped in a smooth and open Plain, and his Cavalry much superior to that of the *Romans*, *Æmilius* did not think proper to engage in such a Place. He was for drawing the Enemy into uneven Ground, where the Infantry might have the greatest Share in the Action. But his Colleague, a Man without Experience, was of a contrary Opinion. So great is the Inconveniency of a divided Command; Jealousy, Diversity of Temper, or Difference of Views, seldom failing of causing Dissensions between the two Generals.

THE Troops on each Side were for some time contented with slight Skirmishes. But at last one Day when *Varro* had the Command, for the two Consuls took it by Turns, Preparations were made on both Sides for a Battle. *Æmilius* had not been consulted; but though he extremely disapproved of the Conduct of his Colleague, yet as it was not in his Power to prevent it, he prepared to second him as well as he could.

HANNIBAL, after having made his Soldiers observe, that, superiour as they were in Cavalry, they could not possibly have pitch'd upon a proper
Place

Place for the Field of Battle, had it been left to their Choice: "Return then, said he, Thanks to the Gods, for having brought the Enemies hither, that you may triumph over them; and thank me also for having reduced the *Romans* to a Necessity of Fighting. After three great successive Victories is not the Remembrance of your own Actions sufficient alone to inspire you with Courage? By the former Battles you are become Masters of the flat Country; but this shall put you in Possession of all the Cities, and (I dare say) of all the Riches and Power of the *Romans*. It is not Words that we want, but Action. I trust to the Gods that you shall soon perceive the Effect of my Promises."

THE two Armies were very unequal in Number. The *Roman*, reckoning the Allies, amounted to fourscore thousand Foot, and a little above six thousand Horse: and the *Carthaginian* consisted but of forty thousand Foot, all well-disciplin'd, and of ten thousand Horse. *Æmilius* commanded the right Wing of the *Romans*, *Varro* the left; and *Servilius*, one of the Consuls of the last Year was placed in the Center. *Hannibal*, who knew how to take all Advantages, had posted himself so as the Wind *Vulturnus* *, which rises at certain stated Times, should blow directly in the Faces of the *Romans* during the Fight, and cover them with Dust; then keeping the River *Aufidus* on his left, and setting his Cavalry in the Wings, he formed his main Body with the *Spanish* and *Gallick* Infantry which he placed in the Center with half the *African* heavy-armed Foot on their right, and half on their left, upon the same Line with the Cavalry. His Army being thus disposed, he put himself at the Head of the *Spanish*

* A violent burning Wind, blowing from South-South-East, which in this flat and sandy Country raised Clouds of hot Dust; and blinded and choaked the Romans.

and

and Gallick Infantry, and having drawn them out of the Line, advanc'd to begin the Battle, rounding his Front as he came nearer the Enemy, and stretching his Flanks in the Shape of a Half-moon, that he might leave no Space between his main Body and the rest of the Line consisting of the heavy-armed Infantry which had remained without Motion.

THE Fight soon began, and the *Roman* Legions that were in the Wings, seeing their Center briskly attack'd, advanc'd to fall on the Enemy in Flank. *Hannibal's* main Body, after a brave Resistance, finding themselves press'd on all sides, gave way, being over-power'd by Numbers, and retired through the Space they had left in the Center of the Line. The *Romans* pursuing them thither with Confusion and Eagerness, the two Wings of the *African* Infantry which was fresh, well-arm'd, and in good Order, wheel'd about on a sudden towards that empty Space where the *Romans*, already fatigued, had thrown themselves in Disorder and Confusion, and vigorously attack'd them on both sides, without allowing them Time to recover themselves, or leaving them Ground to form themselves in. In the mean while the two Wings of the Cavalry having defeated those of the *Romans* which were much inferior to them; and having left to pursue the broken and scatter'd Squadrons no more than were necessary to keep them from rallying, came and fell upon the Rear of the *Roman* Infantry; which being at once surrounded on all sides by the Enemies Horse and Foot, was all cut in Pieces, after having shewn prodigious Instances of Bravery. *Æmilius* being cover'd with the Wounds he had received in the Fight, was afterwards killed by a Body of the Enemies to whom he was not known; and with him two Quæstors, one and twenty military Tribunes, many that had been Consuls or Prætors, *Servilius*, one of the last Year's Consuls, *Minucius* the late Master of the Horse to *Fabius*, and fourscore Senators. Above seventy thousand
Men

Men fell in this Battle^a; and the *Carthaginians*, so great was their Eagerness and Fury^b, ceased not to kill, till *Hannibal*, in the very Heat of the Slaughter, called out to them several times: *Stop Soldiers; spare the vanquished*. Ten thousand Men that had been left to guard the Camp, surrendered themselves Prisoners of War after the Battle. *Varro* the Consul retired to *Venusia* attended only with seventy Horse; and about four thousand Men escaped into the neighbouring Cities. Thus *Hannibal* remained Master of the Field, being indebted for this, as well as for his former Victories, to the Superiority of his Cavalry over that of the *Romans*. He lost four thousand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred Horse.

Maharbal, one of the *Carthaginian* Generals, advised *Hannibal* to march without Loss of Time directly to *Rome*, promising him that within five Days they should sup in the Capitol. To which *Hannibal* answering, that it was a Matter which required Time to consider of. "I see, replied *Maharbal*, "that the Gods have not endowed the same Man "with all Talents. You know, *Hannibal*, how to "conquer, but not to make the best of a Victory^c."

THIS Delay, as some pretend, saved *Rome* and the Empire. Many, and among the rest *Livy*, charge *Hannibal*, upon this Occasion, as guilty of a capital Error. Others, more reserv'd, are not for condemning without evident Proofs so famous a General, who in the rest of his Conduct never wanted Prudence to chuse the best Means, or Readiness to put his Designs in Execution. They are moreover

^a *Livy* very much lessens the Number of the Slain, making them amount but to about forty-three thousand. But *Polybius* is rather to be believed.

^b Duo maximi exercitus cæsi ad hostiam satietatem, donec

Annibal diceret militi suo: Parce ferro. *Flor.* l. 1. c. 6.

^c Tum *Maharbal*: Non omnia nimirum eidem Dii dedere. Vincere scis, *Annibal*, victoria uti nescis. *Liv.* l. 22. p. 416

T

disposed

disposed to a favourable Judgment of him, by the Authority, or the Silence at least of *Polybius*, who, when speaking of the memorable Consequences of this noted Battle, says, That the *Carthaginians* were full of Hopes of becoming Masters of *Rome* at the first Assault: But he doth not mention, how such a thing could have been possibly done, considering that this City was very populous, and warlike, strongly fortified, and defended with a Garrison of two Legions; and he doth no where give the least Hint that such a Project was practicable, or that *Hannibal* was in the wrong for not attempting to put it in Execution.

AND indeed, if we examine Matters more closely, we shall find that upon the allowed Maxims of War it could not be undertaken. It is certain that *Hannibal's* whole Infantry before the Battle, amounted but to forty thousand Men; six thousand of these being slain in the Action, and many more undoubtedly either wounded or disabled, there could remain but six or seven and twenty thousand Men fit for Action; now this Number was not sufficient to invest such a large City as *Rome* that had a River running through it, nor to attack it in Form, as having neither Engines, Ammunition, nor any other Things necessary to carry on a Siege. For want of these, *Hannibal*, even after his Victory at *Thrasymenus*, miscarried in an Attempt upon *Spoletum*: And soon after the Battle of *Cannæ*, was forced to raise the Siege of a little mean City^d.

Liv. l. 22.
n. 9.
Liv. l. 23.
n. 18.

It can't be denied, that if in the present Case he had miscarried, nothing less could be expected but he must have been irrecoverably lost. But to judge rightly of this Matter, a Man ought to be a Soldier, and perhaps to have been upon the Spot; it is an old Dispute, upon which none but well-inform'd Judges should pretend to determine.

^d *Casilinum*.

SOON after the Battle of *Canne*, *Hannibal* dif- Liv. l. 23.
 patch'd his Brother *Mago* to carry the News of his n. 11—14
 Victory to *Carthage*, and to demand Succours to enable
 him to put an End to the War. *Mago* being arrived,
 made in full Senate a lofty Speech, wherein he extoll'd
 his Brother's Exploits, and display'd the great Advan-
 tages he had gain'd over the *Romans*. And to
 give a livelier Idea of the Greatness of the Victory,
 by speaking in some Manner to the Eyes, he poured
 out in the middle of the Senate a Bushel * of Gold
 Rings belonging to the *Roman* Nobility that fell in
 the Battle of *Canne*. He concluded with demand-
 ing Money, Victuals, and fresh Troops. All the Be-
 holders were struck with an extraordinary Joy; upon
 which *Imilco*, a great Stickler for *Hannibal*, fancy-
 ing he had a fair Opportunity of insulting *Hanno*,
 Head of the contrary Party, asked him; whether he
 was still dissatisfied with the War against the *Romans*,
 and whether he was for having *Hannibal* delivered
 up. *Hanno*, without any Emotion, replied, that he
 was still of the same Mind, and that the Victories
 they so much boasted of, supposing them real, could not
 affect him with Joy, but in Proportion as they should
 be made subservient to an advantageous Peace:
 Then he undertook to prove that those mighty Ex-
 ploits, which they so much cried up, were only chi-
 merial and imaginary. "I have cut in Pieces,
 " said he, repeating *Mago's* Words, the *Roman* Ar-
 " mies: Send me some Troops. What more could
 " you ask, if you had been conquered? I have twice
 " made my self Master of the Enemies Camp, full,
 " 'tis likely, of all kinds of Provisions: Send me Pro-
 " visions and Money. Could you talk otherwise if
 " you had lost your own?" Then he asked *Ma-
 go*, whether any of the *Latin* Nations were come over

* *Pliny*, l. 33. c. 1. saith that half; but he thinks it most pro-
 there were three Bushels sent to bable that there was but one.
Carthage. *Livy* takes Notice L. 33. n. 12. *Florus* l. 2. c. 16.
 that some Authors made them makes it two
 amount to three Bushels and a

to *Hannibal*, whether the *Romans* had made him any Proposals of Peace. To which *Mago* having answered in the Negative: "Then I perceive, replied *Hanno*, "That we are no further advanced, "than when *Hannibal* first set Foot in *Italy*." His Conclusion from hence was, that there ought to be sent neither Men nor Money. But *Hannibal's* Faction then prevailing, no Regard was paid to the Remonstrances of *Hanno*, which were considered only as the Effects of his Prejudice and Jealousy; and Orders were given for levying the Supplies of Men and Money which *Hannibal* required. *Mago* set out immediately for *Spain* to raise there twenty-four thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. But these Levies were afterwards stopped, and sent another Way: So eagerly bent was the contrary Faction upon opposing the Designs of a General whom they could not indure. Whilst at *Rome*, a Consul, who had fled, was thank'd for not having despair'd of the Commonwealth: At *Carthage*, People were almost angry with *Hannibal* for having obtain'd the Victory. Whatever Advantages he gain'd, *Hanno* could never forgive him for undertaking the War without his Advice. Being more jealous for the Honour of his own Opinions than for the Good of the State, and a greater Enemy to the *Carthaginian* General than to the *Romans*, he did all he could to hinder future, and to lessen past, Successes.

De S.
Evrem.

HANNIBAL makes *Capua* his Winter Quarters.

Liv. l. 23. n. 4. 18.

The Battle of *Canna* rang'd the most powerful Nations of *Italy* under the Standards of *Hannibal*, drew into his Party *Græcia Magna* ^a with the City of

^a *Cæterum quum Græci omnem fere oram maritimam Cœloniis suis, e Græciâ deductis, obsiderent, &c.* But after the Greeks

of *Tarentum*, and wrested from *Rome* her most ancient Allies, amongst whom *Capua* held the first Rank. This City, by the Fertility of its Soil, advantageous Situation, and the Blessings of a long Peace, had rose to great Wealth and Empire. Luxury, and a Flow of Pleasures, the common Attendants on Wealth, had enervated the Minds of her Citizens, who, by a natural Inclination, were but too well dispos'd to receive Impressions from Luxury and Debauch.

HANNIBAL^b made Choice of this City for his Winter Quarters. Here it was that his Army, which had sustain'd the most irksome Labours, and rose superior to the most threatening Dangers, fell vanquish'd by Delights and Plenty, into which it plung'd with the greater Eagerness as they were before untry'd and unknown. Its Courage was soften'd to that degree in so bewitching a Retirement, that all its After-efforts were rather the Consequences of a Reputation acquir'd by former Victories, than the Effects of a present and determin'd Valour. When *Hannibal* march'd his Forces out of this Town, one wou'd have said that they were other Men, and not the same who had so lately march'd into it. Accustom'd, during the Winter, to commodious Lodgings, to Ease and Plenty, they were no longer able to struggle with Hunger, Thirst, long Marches, Watchings, and the other Labours of War: Besides which, all Obedience, all Exactness of Discipline were entirely forgot.

Greeks by their Colonies had seiz'd almost all the Maritime Coast, this very Country, with Sicily, obtain'd the Name of Great Greece, &c. Cluver. Geograph. l. 3. c. 30.

^b Ibi partem majorem huius exercitum in tentis habuit; adversus omnia humana mala

sepe ac diu durantem, bonis inexpertem atque insuetum. Itaque quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immodicæ, & eo impensius, quo avidius ex insolentia in eas se miserant. Liv. l. 23. n. 18.

I ONLY transcribe from *Livy*, who, if he deserves Credit, makes the Stay at *Capua* a Reproach to *Hannibal's* Conduct, and pretends that he was here guilty of an Error incomparably greater than when he neglected to march right to *Rome* after the Battle of *Cannæ*. For this Delay^c, says *Livy*, might appear only to have retarded his Victory, whereas this last Mismanagement render'd him incapable to overcome. In one word, as *Marcellus* judiciously said afterwards, *Capua* was to the *Carthaginians* and their General, what ^d *Cannæ* had been to the *Romans*. There their warlike Genius, their Love of Discipline, were lost: There their ancient Glory, and their almost certain Hopes of more to come, disappear'd. And in fact, from this Time the Affairs of *Hannibal* went fast to Decay, Fortune rang'd herself on the Side of Prudence, and Victory seem'd to be reconcil'd to the *Romans*.

I KNOW not whether *Livy* justly, and with Reason, charges the Stay at *Capua* with all these fatal Consequences. When all the Circumstances of this History are carefully examin'd, it will be no easy Matter to persuade ourselves, that the little Progress afterwards made by the Arms of *Hannibal*, ought to be ascrib'd to the Retreat at *Capua*. It might be a Cause indeed, but a very inconsiderable one: And the Bravery with which his Forces afterwards fought the Armies of Consuls and Prætors, the Towns which they took in the Sight of the *Romans*, their Conquests so well preserv'd, and *Italy* kept fourteen Years after without a Possibility of driving them out; all this inclines us to believe, that *Livy* has too much exceeded in his tragical Displays of the *Capuan* Luxury.

^c Illa enim cunctatio distulisse modo victoriam videri potuit, hic error vires admissæ ad vincendum. *Liv. l. 23. n. 18.*

^d Capuam Annibali Cannas

fuisse, ibi virtutem bellicam, ibi militarem disciplinam, ibi præteriti temporis famam, ibi spem futuri extinctam. *Liv. l. 23. n. 45.*

THE Decay of *Hannibal's* Affairs was indeed owing to the Want of necessary Recruits and Succours from *Carthage*. After the Oration of *Mago*, *Liv.* 1. 23. the *Carthaginian* Senate came to a Resolution for^{n. 13.} pushing the Conquests in *Italy*, and in order to that, of sending thither a considerable Reinforcement of *Numidian* Horse, forty Elephants, and a thousand Talents; and of hiring in *Spain* twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, to reinforce their *Spanish* and *Italian* Armies. Nevertheless, *Mago*^{ibid. n.} cou'd prevail for no more than twelve thousand Foot,^{32.} and two thousand five hundred Horse; And even when he was ready to march with an Army so much inferior to what was promis'd, he was countermanded and dispatch'd to *Spain*. So that *Hannibal*, after all these magnificent Promises, receiv'd neither Infantry, Cavalry, Elephants nor Money, but was left to shift as well as he could. His Army was reduc'd to twenty-six thousand Foot, and nine thousand Horse. And how was he qualified, with an Army so disproportion'd to his Necessities, to seize in an Enemy's Country all the advantageous Posts, to keep his new Allies firm to his Interests, to preserve old Conquests and make new ones, and to keep the Field with Advantage against two Armies of the *Romans* recruited every Year? This was the true Cause of the Declension of *Hannibal's* Affairs, and of the Ruin of those of *Carthage*. Had we the Place where *Polybius* delivered himself upon this Matter, we should doubtless see that he enlarges more upon this Cause than the Luxuries of *Capua*.

Affairs of Spain and Sardinia.

Liv. l. 23. n. 26—30—32—40, 41.

THE two *Scipios* continued in the Command of *Spain*, and made great Progress with their Arms, when *Asdrubal*, who alone appear'd capable to make Head against them, receiv'd Orders from *Carthage* to march into *Italy* to the Relief of his Brother. Before he left *Spain*, he writ to the Senate, to convince them of the Necessity of sending a General in his Room, who was fit to be oppos'd to the *Romans*. *Imilco* was sent thither with an Army, and *Asdrubal* put himself upon his March with his own to join his Brother. The first News of his Departure, threw the greatest Part of *Spain* into the Hands of the *Scipios*. These two Generals, animated by this happy Success, put themselves in Addition to hinder his Passage out of *Spain*. They consider'd the Danger to which *Rome* would be expos'd, if, but just able to resist *Hannibal* alone, she shou'd have upon her Hands the two Brothers at the Head of two powerful Armies. They pursu'd him therefore, and, overtaking, oblig'd him to fight against his Inclination. *Asdrubal* was overcome, and, far from being capable to continue his March for *Italy*; he saw himself in no Condition to remain with Safety in *Spain*.

THE *Carthaginians* had no better Success in *Sardinia*. Pretending to make Advantage of some Rebellions excited by them in that Country, they lost twelve thousand Men in a Battle against the *Romans*, and had still a greater Number of Prisoners taken, amongst whom were *Asdrubal*, surnamed *Calvus*,

* Not the *Hanno*, and *Mago**, distinguish'd by their Birth and Brother of military Honours.

Hannibal,
but a near
Relation.
Liv.

*The ill Success of HANNIBAL. The Sieges of
Capua and Rome.*

Liv. l. 23. n. 41—46. l. 25. n. 22. l. 26. n. 5—6.

After *Hannibal's* Stay at *Capua*, the *Carthaginian* Affairs in *Italy* no longer went on with the same Reputation. *M. Marcellus*, first as *Prætor*, and then as *Consul*, had a great Share in this Revolution. He harrafs'd *Hannibal's* Army without Intermiſſion, depriv'd him of his Quarters, oblig'd him to raiſe Sieges, and beat him in ſeveral Rencounters, ſo that at *Rome* he obtained the Name of her *Sword*, as *Fabius* had before that of her *Buckler*. But the moſt ſenſible Diſgrace to the *Carthaginian* General, was that of ſeeing *Capua* beſieg'd by the *Romans*. To preſerve his Reputation amongſt his Allies, by a vigorous Support of thoſe who held the chiefſt Rank as ſuch, he flew to the Relief of that City, brought his Forces up, fell upon the *Romans*, and fought ſeveral Battles to oblige them to raiſe the Siege. At laſt ſeeing all his Meaſures defeated, he march'd haſtily to *Rome* to make a powerful Diverſion. He deſpair'd not, if he could in the firſt Conſternation ſeize any Part of the City, of drawing the *Roman* Generals with all their Armies from the Siege of *Capua* to the Relief of their Capital; at leaſt he flattered himſelf, that if, in Continuance of the Siege, they divided their Forces, their Weakneſs might offer an Occaſion, either to the *Capuans* or himſelf, of fighting and beating them. *Rome* was ſtruck, but not confounded. Upon a Propoſal of one of the Senators to recall all the Forces to the Relief of *Rome*, *Fabius* ^e repreſented the Shame of

^e *Fabius Maximus* abſcedi a *Capua*, terrerique & circumagi ad nutus comminationeſque

Annibalis, flagitioſum ducebat. *Liv. l. 26. n. 8.*

PUBLIUS was the first Sacrifice. To the two Chiefs which he had to deal with, *Massinissa*, fierce and elate with his Victories lately obtain'd over *Syphax*, joyn'd himself, and he was speedily to be follow'd by *Indibilis* a powerful *Spanish* Prince. The Armies came to Blows. The *Romans*, attack'd on all Sides at once, made a brave Resistance while they had their General at their Head; but as soon as he was fallen, the Handful which had escap'd the Slaughter took to their Heels.

THE three victorious Armies immediately march'd in Quest of *Cneus* to finish the War by his Defeat. He was already more than half vanquish'd by the Desertion of the Allies, who all forsook him, and left to the *Roman* Generals this important Instruction^k, Never to suffer their own Forces to be exceeded in Number by those of Strangers. He had some Guess at the Defeat and Slaughter of his Brother by the Arrival of so great Bodies of the Enemy. He surviv'd him but a short time, being kill'd in the Engagement. These two great Men were equally lamented by their Citizens and Allies, and the *Spaniards* bewail'd them in Memory of their Justice and Moderation.

THE Loss of these vast Countries appear'd unavoidable, had not the Valour of *L. Marcius*^l a private Officer, and of the *Equestrian* Order, preserv'd them to the *Romans*. Shortly after, the young *Scipio* was sent, who amply reveng'd the Deaths of his Father and Uncle, and entirely restor'd the Affairs of *Spain*.

^k Id quidem cavendum semper Romanis ducibus erit, exemplaque hæc vere pro documentis habenda, Ne ita externis credant auxiliis, ut non plus sui roboris suarumque proprie virium in castris habeant. Liv. l. 25. n. 33.

^l He fell upon the Carthagini.

ans divided into two several Camps, and secure, as they thought, from any present Attempts of the Romans; kill'd thirty-seven thousand of them, took one thousand eight hundred Prisoners, and brought off immense Plunder. Liv. l. 25. n. 39.

The Defeat and Death of Asdrubal.

*Polyb. B. 11. p. 867, 868. Ed. Gronov. Liv. l. 27.
n. 35—47, 48, 49.*

ONE fatal unexpected Blow ruin'd all the Measures, and blasted all the Hopes of *Hannibal* with regard to *Italy*. The Consuls of this Year, which was the Eleventh of the War (for I pass over several Events to abridge Matters) were *C. Claudius, Nero* and *M. Livius*. The latter had for his Province the *Cisalpin Gaul*, where he was to oppose himself to *Asdrubal* preparing to pass the *Alps*. The other commanded in the Country of the *Brutians*, and in *Lucania*, that is to say, in the other End of *Italy*, where he made Head against *Hannibal*.

THE Passage of the *Alps* gave *Asdrubal* little Trouble, because he found the Way clear'd for him by his Brother, and all the People dispos'd to receive him. Some time after he dispatch'd Couriers to *Hannibal*, who were intercepted. *Nero* learned from their Letters that *Asdrubal* was hastening to joyn his Brother in *Umbria*. In a Conjunction so delicate and important as this, where the Safety of *Rome* lay at Stake, he thought himself at Liberty to dispense with the settled Rules* of War for the Service and the Good of his Country. In consequence of this he was of Opinion, that a bold and unexpected Blow was to be struck, capable to give Terror to the Enemy, by marching to the Relief of his Colleague, and falling briskly upon *Asdrubal* with their united Forces. The Design, upon a fair Examination of Circumstances, cannot justly be charg'd with Imprudence. The Prevention of the two Brothers from joyning their Armies was the very Safety of the State. Little was hazarded, even tho' *Hannibal* should be informed of the Absence of the Consul. From an Army of forty-two thousand Men he

* No General was to go out of his own Province into that of another's.

only

only chose out seven thousand for his own Detachment, who were indeed the Flower of the Army, but a very inconsiderable Part of its Number. The rest remain'd in a Camp advantageously situated and well fortify'd. Could there be any Fear of *Hannibal's* falling upon and forcing a Camp defended by thirty-five thousand Men?

NERO departed without any Hint of his Design to his Soldiers. When he was advanc'd so far that it might be known without any Danger, he told them, that he was leading them to a certain Victory: That in War all depended upon Reputation; that the single Rumour of their Arrival would disconcert all the Measures of the *Carthaginians*, and the Honour of the Action fall to them.

THEY march'd with extraordinary Diligence, and joyn'd the other Consul in the Night without a Separation of Camps, the more easily to impose upon the Enemy. The Army of the *Prætor Porcius* was incamp'd near that of the Consul, and in the Morning a Council was held. *Livius* was of Opinion that some Days ought to be given to the Refreshment of the Troops; *Nero* on the other hand besought him not to ruin an Action by Delay which could only succeed by Dispatch, and to make Advantage of the Error of the Enemy as well absent as present. This Advice was comply'd with, and the Signal for the Engagement was given. *Asdrubal* advancing to his foremost Ranks, discover'd by several Tokens, that fresh Troops were arriv'd, and he had no doubt but that they belonged to the other Consul. This gave him a Thought that his Brother had received some considerable Loss, and fill'd him with Fear that he was come too late to his Assistance.

AFTER these Reflections he founded a Retreat, and his Army began to march in great Disorder. Night overtook him, and his Guides deserting, he was uncertain what Route to keep. He followed

at hazard the Banks of the River *Metaurus**, and ^{* Now} was preparing to pass it when the three Armies of ^{call'd Me-} the Enemy came up with him. In this Extremity ^{taro.} he saw it impossible to avoid an Engagement, and therefore perform'd every Thing which could be expected from Presence of Mind, and the Courage of a great Captain. He seiz'd an advantageous Post, and rang'd his Forces in a narrow Place, which gave him an Opportunity of placing his left Wing, the weakest Part of his Army, in a manner that it cou'd neither be fallen on in Front, nor taken in the Flank; and of giving to the Body of his Battle and to his right Wing greater Depth than Front. After this hasty Arrangement he put himself in the Center, and first march'd to attack the left Wing of the Enemy, being sensible that all was at Stake, and that there was no Mean betwixt Conquest or Death. The Engagement was long and obstinately disputed on both Sides. *Asdrubal* distinguish'd himself on this bloody Day, and put the last Hand to the Glory which he had acquir'd by so many shining Actions. He led on his spiritless and trembling Soldiers against an Enemy superior to them both in Number and Resolution. He animated them by his Words, supported them by his Example, and with Prayers and Menaces rally'd the Runaways, till seeing at last the Victory declaring for the *Romans*, and unable to survive the Loss of so many thousand Men as had quitted their Country to follow his Fortunes; he threw himself into the middle of a *Roman* Cohort, and there perish'd in a manner becoming the Son of *Amilcar* and the Brother of *Hannibal*.

THIS Engagement was the most bloody which the *Carthaginians* had known in this War: And whether we regard the Death of the General, or the Slaughter made of the *Carthaginian* Forces, it may be look'd on as a Reprisal for the Battle at *Canna*. The *Carthaginians* lost fifty-five thousand Men,

Men^m, and had six thousand Prisoners taken. The Romans lost eight thousand. They were so weary of killing, that some body advertising *Livius*, that it was easy to cut in Pieces a Body of the flying Enemy. *It is fit*, said he, *that some should be left to carry the News of this Defeat to the Carthaginians.*

NERO put himself upon his March the same Night which follow'd the Engagement. Every where in his Return Shouts of Joy and loud Acclamations welcom'd him in the Room of those Fears and Uneasinesses which his March had occasion'd. He arriv'd in his Camp the sixth Day. The Head of *Asdrubal* thrown into the *Carthaginian* Camp inform'd *Hannibal* of the unhappy Fate of his Brother. *Hannibal* saw in this cruel Stroke the Fortune of *Carthage*: *It is done*, said heⁿ, *I will no longer send triumphant Messages to Carthage. In Asdrubal, I have lost at once all my Hope and all my Fortune.* He retir'd afterwards into the Extremities of the *Brutians*, where he call'd together all his Forces, who with difficulty subsisted, as no Convoys came from *Carthage*.

SCIPIO makes himself Master of all Spain. Is nam'd Consul, and sails over into Africk. *Hannibal* is call'd home.

Polyb. l. 11—14—15. Liv. l. 28. n. 1—4—16—38—40—46. L. 29. n. 24—36. L. 30. n. 20—28.

THE Lot of Arms was no longer favourable to the *Carthaginians* in Spain. The prudent *Vivacity*

^m Polybius makes the Loss to amount but to ten thousand, and that of the Romans to two thousand. *L. 11. p. 870. Edit. Gronov.*

ⁿ Horace makes him deliver himself in these Words in the fine

Ode in which this Defeat is describ'd. *Carthagini jam non ego Nuntios mittam superbos. Occidit, Occidit spes omnis & fortuna nostri Nominis, Asdrubale interempto. L. 4. Od. 4.*

of the young *Scipio* had entirely restor'd the *Roman* Affairs in that Nation, as the courageous *Siowness* of *Fabius* had before done in *Italy*. The three *Carthaginian* Generals in *Spain*, *Asdrubal* Son of *Gisgo*, *Hanno*, and *Mago*, had been defeated with their numerous Armies in several Engagements against the *Romans*. *Scipio* at last remain'd Master of *Spain*, which he had entirely reduc'd to the *Roman* Power. It was now that *Masnissa*, a powerful *African* Prince, embrac'd the *Roman* Cause, and *Syphax* on the contrary that of *Carthage*.

SCIPIO, on his Return to *Rome*, was declar'd Consul, being then thirty Years of Age. He had for his Collegue *P. Licinius Crassus*. *Sicily* fell to the Share of *Scipio*, with a Permission to pass into *Africk* if he saw it convenient. He made all possible Haste to his Province, whilst his Collegue remain'd in *Italy* to command in the Country in which *Hannibal* had retir'd.

THE taking of *New Carthage*, on which Occasion *Scipio* had display'd all the Prudence, all the Courage and Capacity which could be expected from the greatest Generals, and the entire Conquest of *Spain*, were more than sufficient to immortalize his Name: But he only regarded them as so many Steps and Degrees by which he was to climb to a greater Undertaking, and this was the Conquest of *Africk*. He pass'd over into it, and made it the Seat of the War.

THE Ravage of the Country, the Siege of *Utica*, one of the strongest Places of *Africk*, the entire Defeat of the two Armies led by *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* whose Camp was burn'd by *Scipio*, and afterwards the taking of *Syphax* himself who was the most powerful Resource left to the *Carthaginians*; all this brought them at last to Thoughts of Peace. They deputed for that Purpose thirty of their principal Senators, chosen out of the powerful Body of those call'd the *Council of the Hundred* Arriv'd in the Tent of the *Roman* General, they all threw them-

U

selves

selves prostrate on the Earth (such was the Custom of their Country) spoke to him in Terms of great Submission, charging *Hannibal* with the Beginning and Calamities of the whole War, and promis'd on the Part of the Senate a blind Obedience to the Orders of the *Roman* People. *Scipio* answer'd, that tho' he came into *Africk* not for Peace but Conquest, yet he would grant them a Peace on Condition that they deliver'd up to the *Romans* all Prisoners and Deserters; that they would call their Armies out of *Italy* and *Gaul*; that they would no more set Foot in *Spain*; that they would deliver up to their Victor all their Ships, twenty excepted; that they would give to the *Romans* five hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat, and three hundred thousand of Barly, and pay the Sum of fifteen thousand Talents. If these Conditions pleas'd, they might, he said, send Ambassadors to the Senate. They feign'd a Compliance, but this was only to gain Time for the Return of *Hannibal*. A Truce was granted to the *Carthaginians*, who immediately sent Envoys to *Rome*, and at the same time a Deputation to *Hannibal* to order his Return into *Africk*.

HE was then, as we have before said, in the Extremities of *Italy*. Here the Deputation from *Carthage* found him, which he could not hear without Groans and almost Tears, in Rage and Madness to see himself thus oblig'd to quit his Prey. Never banish'd Man^o shew'd so much Regret for leaving his native Country, as *Hannibal* did in going out of that of an Enemy. He often look'd back to *Italy*, accusing Gods and Men of his Misfortunes, and loading himself with a thousand Execrations that he

° Raro quenquam alium patriam exilii causa relinquentem magis moestum abiisse ferunt, quam Annibalem hostium terra excedentem. Respexisse saepe Italix Littora, & Deos

Hominesque accusantem, in se quoque ac suum ipsius caput execratum, Quod non cruentum ab Cannensibus victoria militem Romanam duxisset. Liv. l. 30. n. 20.

had

had not after the Battle of *Cannæ* led his Soldiers to *Rome* all reeking with the Blood of her Citizens.

AT *Rome* the Senate, ill satisfy'd with the Excuses offer'd by the *Carthaginian* Envoys in Justification of their Republick, and the ridiculous Offer of its keeping to the Treaty of *Lutatius*, thought proper to refer the Decision of the whole to *Scipio*, who being upon the Spot, could best judge of the Conditions fit to be insisted on by the State.

ABOUT the same Time the Prætor *Octavius* sailing from *Sicily* with two hundred Vessels of Burden was attack'd near *Carthage* by a furious Tempest which dispers'd all his Navy. The Citizens not being able to see so rich a Prey escape out of their Hands, demanded importunately the sailing out of the *Carthaginian* Fleet to seize it. The Senate, after a weak Resistance comply'd. *Asdrubal* sailing out of the Harbour seized the greatest part of the *Roman* Ships, and brought them to *Carthage*, notwithstanding the Truce was yet subsisting.

SCIPIO sent Deputies with Complaints to the *Carthaginian* Senate, who were but little regarded. The Expectation of *Hannibal* had restor'd their Courage, and fill'd them with great Hopes. There was even a Danger to the Deputies of ill Treatment from the Populace. Therefore they demanded a Guard, which was granted, and two Vessels of the Republick attended them. But the Magistrates, who were for having no Peace, and were determined to renew the War, gave private Orders to *Asdrubal*, who was with the Fleet near *Utica*, to attack the *Roman* Galley when it should arrive in the River *Bagrada* near the *Roman* Camp, where the Guard was order'd to leave them. He obey'd the Order, and sent out two Galleys against the Ambassadors, who nevertheless made their Escape, but with Difficulty and Danger.

THIS was a new Subject of War between the two Nations, more animated now, or rather more

exasperated against one another than ever before; the *Romans* by the Desire to revenge so black a Perfidy, the *Carthaginians* from a Persuasion that no Peace was now to be expected.

AT the same Time *Lælius* and *Fulvius* arriv'd in the *Roman* Camp with the full Powers sent from the Senate to *Scipio*. With them came the *Carthaginian* Envoys in their Return from *Rome*. As *Carthage* had not only broke the Truce, but violated the Laws of Nations in the Persons of the *Roman* Ambassadors, it was natural to make Reprisals upon the *Carthaginian* Deputies. But *Scipio* considering^P rather what the *Roman* Generosity requir'd, than the *Carthaginian* Perfidy merited, not to depart either from the Principles of his Nation or himself, sent the Deputies to *Carthage* without any Injury offer'd to them. A Moderation so astonishing, and in such a Conjunction, terrify'd and put *Carthage* herself to the Blush. *Hannibal* conceiv'd a still higher Opinion of a General, who oppos'd, to the dishonourable Practices of the Enemy, only an Integrity and Nobleness of Soul, more worthy Admiration, than all his warlike Virtues.

IN the mean time *Hannibal*, importun'd by his Citizens, advanc'd into the Country, and arriving at *Zama*, five Days March from *Carthage*, he pitch'd his Tents. He sent out Spies to observe the Posture of the *Romans*. *Scipio* having surpriz'd them, for their Punishment only order'd them to be led about the *Roman* Camp that they might have an exact Survey of it, and then sent them back to *Hannibal*. He was easily sensible from what Cause flow'd so noble an Assurance. After what he had experienc'd, he no longer expected a Return of For-

^P Ἐσκοπεῖτο παρ' αὐτῶν συλλογιζόμενος, ἄχ' ἔτι τι δῖον παθεῖν Καρχηδονίους, ὡς τί δῖον ἦν περὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, Polyb. l. 15. p. 965. Ed. Gronov.

Quibus Scipio. Et si non indi-

ciarum modo fides, sed etiam jus Gentium in Legatis violatum esset; tamen se nihil nec Institutis populi *Romani* nec suis moribus indignum in iis facturum esse. Liv. l. 30. n. 25. tune.

tune. While all the World incited him to War, he singly dream'd of Peace. He hop'd the Conditions of it wou'd be the more reasonable, as he was at the Head of an Army, and the Lot of Arms was uncertain. He sent therefore to demand an Interview with *Scipio*. It was agreed to, and the Time and Place fix'd.

The Interview betwixt HANNIBAL and SCIPIO in Africk, follow'd by a Battle.

Polyb. l. 15. Liv. l. 30. n. 29—35.

THESE two Generals, the greatest not only of their own Age, but worthy to be compar'd with all that had ever liv'd before them, meeting at the appointed Place, remained some Time in a deep Silence, as if struck with a mutual Admiration of one another. At last *Hannibal* spoke, and after an eloquent Encomium bestow'd on *Scipio*, he expatiated in a lively Description of the Disorders of War, and the Miseries which it had brought as well to the Victors as the vanquished. He conjured him not to suffer himself to be dazzled with the Lustre of his Victories. He represented to him that however happy he had hitherto been, he ought to tremble at the Inconstancy of Fortune: That without going far back for Examples, he himself who spoke to him was a pregnant Proof: That *Scipio* was then what himself had been at *Thrasymene* and *Cannæ*: That he ought to make a better Use of Opportunity than himself had done, and consent to Peace at a Time when he was Master of the Conditions. He concluded with declaring that the *Carthaginians* were willing to resign *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Spain*, and all the Isles between *Africk* and *Italy* to the *Romans*. That they were content, since it was the Will of the Gods, to shut themselves up within *Africk*, and to see the

Romans extending their Empire into distant Countries.

SCIPIO's Answer was short, but with equal Dignity. He reproach'd the Perfidy of the *Carthaginians* in the plundering the *Roman Gallies* before the Truce was expired. He imputed to them, and their Injustice, all the Calamities which the two Wars had been attended with. After his Thanks to *Hannibal* for the Admonition given him concerning the Uncertainty of human Events, he concluded with bidding him prepare for Battle, unless he was willing to accept the Conditions already propos'd, to which nevertheless some others would be added to punish the *Carthaginians* for the Violation of the Truce.

HANNIBAL could not bring himself to accept these Conditions, and they parted with the Resolution of deciding the Fate of *Carthage* by a general Action. Each of them encouraged his Troops to fight valiantly. *Hannibal* recounted his Victories obtained over the *Romans*, the Generals slain by him, the Armies which he had cut in Pieces. *Scipio* represented to his Men the Conquest of both the *Spains*, his Successes in *Africk*, and the Confession made by the Enemies themselves of their Weakness by thus coming to desire a Peace. All this was spoke^d with the Tone and the Air of a Conqueror. Never Motives were more prevalent to engage Troops to a gallant Behaviour. This Day was to compleat the Glory of one or other of the Generals, and decide whether *Rome* or *Carthage* was to give Law to Nations.

I UNDERTAKE not to describe the Order of the Battle, nor the Valour of the two Armies. It is easy to imagine that two such experienced Generals forgot nothing which might contribute to the

^d Celsus hęc corpore vultu- deres, dicebat. *Liv. l. 30. n*
que ita læto, ut vicisse jam cie- 32.

Victory. The *Carthaginians*, after an obstinate Fight, were obliged to fly, leaving behind them twenty thousand Men on the Field of Battle, and an equal Number of Prisoners was taken by the *Romans*. *Hannibal* escaped in the Tumult, and, entering *Carthage*, owned that he was vanquished without Resource, and that the City had no other Choice left, but that of Peace on any Conditions. *Scipio* bestow'd great Elogies on him, chiefly with regard to his Capacity in taking Advantages, ranging his Army, and giving his Orders in the Engagement; and he affirmed, that *Hannibal* this Day had exceeded himself, tho' Success had disappointed his Courage and Prudence.

FOR himself, he well knew how to make his Advantage of the Victory and Consternation of the Enemy. He ordered one of his Lieutenants to lead his Land Army to *Carthage*, while himself conducted the Fleet thither. He was not far from it when he met a Vessel cover'd with Streamers and Branches of Olives, bringing ten of the most considerable Persons of the City as Ambassadors to implore his Clemency. He dismiss'd them without Answer, and bad them wait on him at *Tunis* where he should stop. The Deputies of *Carthage*, to the Number of thirty, came to him at the appointed Place, and desired Peace in Terms the most submissive. He called a Council, of which the greatest Part was for razing *Carthage*, and treating the Inhabitants with the last Severity. But the Time which a City so well fortified would cost to take it, and *Scipio's* Fear of a Successor to come whilst he should be employ'd in the Siege, turned the Scale on the Side of Clemency.

A Peace concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans. The End of the Second Punic War.

Polyb. l. 15. Liv. l. 30. n. 36—44.

THE Conditions of the Peace dictated by Scipio to the Carthaginians were, *That the Carthaginians should remain free with the Preservation of their Laws, Territories and Towns which they possess'd in Africk before the War—That they should deliver up to the Romans all Deserters, Slaves and Prisoners belonging to them—That they should deliver up all their Ships except ten Triremes, all their tame Elephants, and tame no more—That it should not be lawful for them to make War out of Africk, nor even there without Permission from the Roman People—That they should restore to Masinitta all which they had taken from him or his Ancestors—That they should give Money and Corn to the Roman Auxiliaries, till their Ambassadors should return from Rome—That they should pay to the Romans ten thousand Euboic Talents^r of Silver in fifty annual Payments; and give a hundred Hostages to be named by Scipio. To give them Time to send to Rome, it was agreed to grant them a Truce, on Condition of their restoring the Ships taken on Occasion of the first, without which they were to hope for neither Truce nor Peace. When the Deputies were returned to Carthage, they laid before the Senate the Conditions dictated by Scipio. They appeared so intolerable to Gisgo, that in a Speech he endeavoured to dissuade his Citizens from accepting a Peace on such shameful Terms. Hannibal pro-*

^r According to Budæus the Euboic Talent ——— 56 Mines.
 56 Mines reduced to English Money ——— 175 l.
 Consequently 10000 Euboic Talents ——— 1,750,000.
 So that the Carthaginians paid annually ——— 35000 l.
 This Calculation is as near the Truth as it can well be brought, the
 Euboic Talent something exceeding 56 Mines.

voked at the Calmness with which such an Orator was heard, took *Gisgo* by the Arm, and dragged him from his Seat. A Behaviour so outrageous and unbecoming a free City like *Carthage*, rais'd an universal Complaint. *Hannibal* himself was disturbed when he reflected on it, and immediately excused himself: "As I left, said he, your City at the Age of nine Years, and returned not till after thirty six Years of Absence, I had leisure to instruct myself in military Knowledge, in which, if I mistake not, I made an equal Improvement. As for your Laws and your Customs, it is no Wonder that I am ignorant of them; it is from you that I desire to learn them." He then enlarged upon the Necessity they were under of having a Peace. He added, that Thanks were due to the Gods who had inclined the *Romans* to grant them Peace even on these Conditions. He let them see the Importance of their uniting in Counsels, and of giving no Opportunity, by their Divisions, for the People's taking under their Cognisance an Affair of this Nature. The whole Senate came into his Sentiments, and the Peace was accepted. The Senate satisfied *Scipio* for the Ships demanded by him, and, after they had obtained a Truce of three Months, dispatched Ambassadors to *Rome*.

THEY were admitted to immediate Audience, and were all venerable for their Years and Dignities. *Asdrubal*, surnamed *Hoedus*, the irreconcilable Enemy of *Hannibal* and his Faction, spoke first, and after having excused in the best Manner he could the People of *Carthage*, by throwing the Blame of the Rupture upon the Ambition of some particular Men, he added, that if the *Carthaginians* had listened to the Counsels of *Hanno* and himself, they might have been able to have given to the *Romans*, the Peace which they were now obliged to sue for.

" But,

“ But, continued he, it is very rare to find Wisdom
 “ and Prosperity in Agreement together. The *Roman*
 “ People are invincible from this, that in the Pro-
 “ sperity of their Affairs they preserve their Reason
 “ and Moderation. And it would be astonishing if
 “ they should act otherwise. Success only dazzles
 “ and blinds those to whom it is new and uncustom-
 “ ed. The *Romans* always victorious, are almost
 “ insensible to the Charms of Victory, and have
 “ extended their Empire in some Sense more by their
 “ Humanity to the conquered, than by Conquest
 “ itself.” The rest in a Manner less noble, bewailed
 the present Condition of their Country, and the
 Grandeur and Power from which she was fallen.

THE Senate and the People equally inclinable to
 Peace, sent full Powers to *Scipio* to conclude it, left
 the Conditions to him, and permitted him to bring
 back his Army after the Peace was concluded.

THE Ambassadors desired Leave to search the
 City for their Prisoners, and found about two hun-
 dred whom they were desirous to Ransom. The
 Senate sent them to *Scipio*, with Orders to restore
 them free on the Conclusion of the Peace.

THE *Carthaginians*, on the Return of their Am-
 bassadors, concluded the Peace with *Scipio* on his
 own Terms. They put into his Hands more than
 five hundred Ships which he caused to be burnt in
 Sight of *Carthage*: A Sight sufficiently sad to the In-
 habitants of that unfortunate City! He struck off
 the Heads of the Allies of the *Latin* Name, and
 hang'd all the *Roman* Deserters.

* Raro simul hominibus bo-
 nam fortunam bonamque men-
 tem dari. Populum Romanum
 eo invictum esse, quod in se-
 cundis Rebus sapere & consule-
 re meminerit. Et hercule miran-
 dum fuisse si aliter facerent.
 Ex insolentia, quibus nova bo-

na fortuna sit, impotentes læ-
 titiæ insanire: Populo Roma-
 no usitata ac prope obsoleta ex
 victoria gaudia esse; ac plus
 pene parcendo victis, quam vin-
 cendo, imperium auxisse. *Liv.*
l. 30. n. 42.

WHEN the Payment of the first Tax imposed by the Treaty came to be made, the Difficulty of raising it from an Exchequer exhausted by so long a War, threw the Senate into a melancholly Silence, and many could not even refrain from Tears. It is said that *Hannibal* falling a laughing, was bitterly reproached by *Asdrubal Hædnus* for his Insult on his Country's Affliction. "If, said that General, my Heart could be looked into, and seen as clearly as my Looks, you would be sensible that this Laughter so offensive to you, flows not from an intemperate Joy, but from a Mind almost distracted with the Publick Misfortunes. But neither is this Laughter so unseasonable as your absurd and unbecoming Tears. Then, then, ought you to have wept when your Arms were taken from you, your Ships burned, and all foreign Wars prohibited. That was the Stroke which laid us prostrate—We are only sensible of the publick Calamities so far as we have a personal Concern in it; and the Loss of our Money gives us the most smarting Grief. Wherefore when our City was stripp'd of her Spoils by the Victor, when she was left unarm'd and defenceless amidst so many powerful and warlike Nations, not a Groan, not a Sigh was heard. At present, when you are call'd on to levy a Tax by the Poll, you lament as if all were lost. I wish the Subject of this Day's Fears does not in a little Time appear the least of your Misfortunes."

SCIPIO, after all was concluded, embark'd to repass the Sea into *Italy*. He arrived at *Rome* through Crowds of People whom Curiosity drew together to behold his March. He had a Triumph decreed the most magnificent that *Rome* had ever seen, and the Sirname of *Africanus* bestow'd upon him, an Honour till then unknown, no Person before him having taken the Name of a vanquished Nation. Such was the

A. M. the Conclusion of the Second *Punic* War, after a
 3803. Continuance of seventeen Years.
 Carth. 687.
 Rome 552.

*A short Reflexion upon the Government of Carthage
 to the Time of the Second Punic War.*

I SHALL finish what I have to say with regard
 L. 6. p. to the Second *Punic* War, with a Reflexion of *Poly-*
 687, 688. *bios*, which will serve to discover the Difference be-
 Ed. Gron. tween the two Commonwealths. At the beginning
 of the second *Punic* War, and in the Time of *Han-*
nibal, it may be said that *Carthage* was in some Man-
 ner in its Decline. Its Youth, its Flower, its Vi-
 gour were already faded. It had begun to sink from
 its Elevation, and was inclining towards its Ruin:
 Whereas *Rome* was then, one may say, in the Bloom
 and Strength of Years, and swiftly advancing to the
 Conquest of the Universe. The Reason of the De-
 cay of the one, and the Encrease of the other, is
 drawn by *Polybius*, from the different Governments
 of these Commonwealths in the Time that we are
 speaking of. At *Carthage* the Populace had seiz'd
 into their Hands the Sovereign Authority in pub-
 lick Affairs, and the Advice of the Aged or the Ma-
 gistrates was no longer listen'd to: Affairs were ma-
 naged by Faction and Intrigue. To take no No-
 tice of what the Faction against *Hannibal* practis'd
 the whole Time that he was employ'd, to clog the
 Wheels of his Administration, the single Fact of
 the *Roman* Vessels pillag'd in the Time of a Truce,
 a Perfidy to which the Populace compelled the Se-
 nate to lend their Name and Assistance, is a Proof
 of what *Polybius* advances. On the contrary, this
 was the very Time when *Rome* pay'd the greatest
 Regard to her Senate, when her Ancients were
 heard and rever'd as Oracles. It is well known how
 jealous the *Roman* People were of their Authority,
 chiefly in that Branch of it which regarded the
 Election of Magistrates. A Century compos'd of
 young

young Men, who by Lot were to give the first Suffrage which ordinarily drew after it all the rest, had named two Consuls. Upon the bare Remonstrance of *Fabius* representing to the People, that in a Storm, such as *Rome* was then struggling with, the ablest Pilots were to be chosen to steer the Common-Ship, the Century returned to the Suffrages, and named other Consuls. From this Difference of Government *Polybius* infers a Necessity of a People, thus conducted by the Prudence of the Aged, carrying the Advantage over a State governed by the giddy Multitude. And in fact *Rome*, guided by the wise Counsels of her Senate, had at last the Superiority as to the Bulk of the War, tho' she was worsted in several Engagements, and established her Power and Grandeur upon the Ruins of her Rival.

The Interval between the Second and Third Punic War, containing 55 Years.

This Interval, tho' sufficiently considerable for its Duration, is very little remarkable for its Events as they regard *Carthage*. They may be reduced to two Heads, of which one concerns the Person of *Hannibal*, the other the particular Differences between the *Carthaginians* and *Masinissa* King of the *Numidians*. We shall treat of both separately, but without giving them any great Extent.

Quilibet nautarum rectoremque tranquillo mari gubernare potest: Ubi sæva orta tempestas est, ac turbato mari vento rapitur navis, tum viro & gubernatore opus est. Non tran-

quillo navigamus, sed jam aliquot procellis submersi pene sumus. Itaque quis ad gubernacula sedeat, summa cura providendum ac præcavendum nobis est. *Liv. l. 24. n. 8.*

SECT. I. *The Continuation of the History of*
HANNIBAL.

WHEN the Second Punic War was terminated by the Treaty of Peace concluded with Scipio, Hannibal, as himself said in the Carthaginian Senate, was 45 Years of Age. What remains for us to say of this great Man, contains a Space of 25 Years.

HANNIBAL undertakes and accomplishes the Reformation of the Justice, and the Treasury of Carthage.

FROM the Conclusion of the Peace, Hannibal, at least in the Beginnings, had a very great Reputation in Carthage, where he sustained the first Employments of the State with Honour and Applause. He was put at the Head of the Carthaginian Forces in some Wars against the Africans: But the Romans, to whom the very Name of Hannibal gave an Uneasiness, not able to see him quietly with Arms in his Hands, made Complaint, and he was recall'd to Carthage.

Corn. Nep.
in Annib.
c. 7.

ON his Return he was made Prætor, a Charge very considerable, and invested with great Authority. So that Carthage opened to him a new Scene for the Display of Virtues and Qualities of a different Nature from those which we have hitherto admired in him, and which will finish the Character of this great Man.

FULL with Desire to restore the Affairs of his ruined Country, he thought that the most likely Means to make a State flourish, were an equal Distribution of Justice to all the Subjects, and a faithful Management of the publick Treasury. The First, by an Equality preserved amongst the Citizens,

zens, and an undisturbed Liberty enjoy'd under the Protection of the Laws which put themselves, their Honour, and their Properties, in Security, unite the Members of the Commonwealth more closely together, and all more firmly to the State, to which they owe the Preservation of all that is dear and valuable to them. The Second, by a faithful Management of the publick Funds, keeps in Reserve an always assured Resource for sudden Emergencies, and keeps the People from the Imposition of new Taxes, which are made necessary by Profusion, and which most contribute to give Men an Aversion for the Government.

HANNIBAL saw with Concern the Disorder which had equally crept into the Administration of Justice, and the Management of the Treasury. Upon his being nominated Prætor, as his Love for Order gave him an Uneasiness at every Deviation from it, and prompted him to restore it, he had the Courage to undertake the Reformation of this double Abuse which drew infinite others after it, without fearing either the Animosity of the old Faction which was oppos'd to him, or the new Enmities which his Zeal for the Republick could not fail to procure him.

The Bench of the Judges committed the most crying Extortions with Impunity. They were so many petty Tyrants, who arbitrarily disposed of the Goods and Lives of the Citizens, without any possibility of giving Check to their Violences, because they held their Commissions for Life, and mutually stood by one another. *Hannibal*, in Quality of Prætor, summoned before his Tribunal an Officer who made an open Abuse of his Power. *Scipio* calls him a Questor. This Officer who was in the opposite Faction to *Hannibal*, and had already all the Pride and Haughtiness of the Judges, into whose Order he was to be admitted on the Expiration of his present Office, insolently refused to obey the Summons.

Hannibal

Hannibal was not of a Temper to suffer tamely an Affront of this Nature. He caused him to be seiz'd by a Licitor, and brought him before the People. There, not content with aiming his Resentment at this single Officer, he impeached the whole Bench of Judges, whose insupportable and tyrannical Pride was neither curbed by the Fear of the Laws, nor a Reverence of the Magistrates. And, as he perceived that he was heard with Attention, and that the lowest of the People on this Occasion discovered that they were no longer able to bear the insolent Pride of these Judges, who seem'd to design upon their Liberty, he propos'd and carry'd a Law for the Removal of Judges every two Years, with a Clause that none should continue in Office beyond that Term. This Law gain'd him the Friendship and Esteem of the People, but in Proportion drew upon him the Hatred of the greatest Part of the Grandees and Nobles.

Ibid. n.
46, 47.

HE undertook another Reformation, which rais'd new Enemies, but acquired him equal Honour. The publick Revenues were either dissipated by the Negligence of those who had the Management of them, or became the Prey and the Plunder of the chief Men of the City and the Magistrates, so that Money being wanting to pay the yearly Tribute due to the *Romans*, it was very near being levy'd upon private Persons. *Hannibal* entering into a large Detail of the publick Revenues, order'd an exact Account of them to be laid before him, inquir'd into the Application of them, the Employments and ordinary Revenues of the State, and discovering by this Examination, that the publick Funds had been in a great Measure embezzled by the Knavery of the Officers employ'd in them, he declar'd and promis'd in a full Assembly, that, without any new Taxes impos'd upon private Men, the Republick should hereafter be put into a Capacity to pay the Tribute to the *Romans*, and he was as good as his

his Word. The publick Farmers, whose Thefts and Rapines he had publickly defeated, who had fatten'd themselves upon the Spoils of their Country, exclaim'd^u against this Reformation as if it had wrested their Properties out of their Hands, and not the Plunder which they had made upon the Publick.

The Retreat and Death of Hannibal.

THIS double Reform open'd a great many Mouths against *Hannibal*. His Enemies write incessantly to the chief Men or their Friends at *Rome* to inform them of a secret Intelligence which he held with *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, from whom he receiv'd frequent Couriers; and that this Prince had privately dispatch'd Agents to him to concert with him the Measures of the War which he was meditating. That as some Animals are never to be brought from their natural Fierceness, so this Man, turbulent and restless in Spirit, could not brook Ease, and would sooner or later fly out into former Excesses. These Informations were heard at *Rome*, and the Transactions of the preceding War, begun and carry'd on almost singly by him, gave great Probability to them. *Scipio* bravely oppos'd the violent Measures which the Senate were for taking on this Intelligence, by representing it as below the Dignity of the *Roman* People to lend their Name to the Hatred and Accusations of the Enemies of *Hannibal*; to support by their Authority their unjust Passions; and obstinately to pursue him even in the Bosom of his Country, as if it had been too little for them to have drove him out of the Field.

^u Tunc vero isti quos paverat infensi & irati, Romanos in per aliquot annos publicus pecculatus, velut bonis ereptis, non Odii querentes, instigabant furo eorum manibus extorto, *Liv. l. 33. n. 47.*

NOTWITHSTANDING these wise Remonstrances the Senate nam'd three Commissioners to carry their Complaints to *Carthage*, and to demand *Hannibal* to be deliver'd up to them. On their Arrival, though other things were pretended, yet *Hannibal* was sensible that himself was aim'd at. Towards Night he convey'd himself off in a Ship provided for that Purpose, and deplor'd his Country's Fate more than his own. *Sapius Patrie quam*

* It should, I think, be read suos.

* *suorum eventus miseratus*. This was the sixth Year from the Conclusion of the Peace. The first Place he landed at was *Tyre*, where he was receiv'd as into his second Country, and had all the Honours pay'd him due to his exalted Merit. After a Stay of some Days here, he departed for *Antiochia* which the King had lately left, and from thence went on to him at *Ephesus*. The Arrival of so great a General gave great Pleasure to the King, and contributed not a little to determine him to the War with *Rome*, which had hitherto kept him in Suspence and Uncertainty. In this City a Philosopher, who pass'd for the greatest Orator of *Asia*, had the Imprudence to harangue before *Hannibal* on the Duties of a General, and the Rules belonging to War. The Speech was very long, and charm'd the whole Audience. It was thought fit to ask *Hannibal's* Opinion of it, who reply'd, "That he had seen several old Doctors, but that this exceeded 'em all." ^w

lic. de
orat.
lib. 2.
18.

THE *Carthaginians*, with Reason, fearing that this Escape might draw upon them the Arms of the *Romans*, fail'd not to give Intelligence to them that

^w Hic Pœnus libere respondisse fertur, multos se deliros senes sæpe vidisse: Sed qui magis quam Phormio deliraret vidisse neminem. Stobæus Serm. lii. gives this Account of the Matter. Ἀννίβας ἀπέσας σοικῆ τινος ἐπιχειρῶντος, ὅτι ὁ σοφὸς μόνος στρατηγὸς ἐστίν, ἐγέλασε, το-

μίζων ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἀκτὸς τῆς δι' ἔργων ἐμπειρίας τὴν ἐν τέτοις ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν. i. e. Hannibal bearing a Stoic Philosopher undertaking to prove that the wise Man was the only General, laugh'd, as thinking it impossible for a Man to have any Knowledge in War, without a long Practice in it.

Han-

Hannibal was retir'd to *Antiochus* *. The News was unwelcome, and might have turn'd much to their Disadvantage, had the King known how to make use of the Opportunity put into his Hands.

THE first Advice given him by *Hannibal*, and frequently repeated afterwards, was to carry the War into *Italy*. He demanded a hundred Ships, eleven or twelve thousand Land Forces, and offer'd himself to command the Navy, to engage the *Carthaginians* in the War, and then to make a Descent upon *Italy*, while the King held himself in a Readiness to pass over the Sea from *Greece* with his Army, when it should be thought proper. This was the only Measure proper to be pursu'd by the King, and he immediately was convinc'd of it.

HANNIBAL thought it proper to pre-engage his Friends at *Carthage*, and to dispose them to enter into his Sentiments. Besides that Letters are not always safe, they convey but an imperfect Idea of Things, and cannot enter into a sufficient Detail. He therefore dispatch'd a Man whom he confided in, with ample Instructions to *Carthage*. He was scarce arrived when the Business he came about was suspected. He was watch'd and follow'd, and at last order'd to be taken up. But he prevented the Industry of his Enemies, and made his Escape in the Night, after he had fix'd in several publick Places Papers which declar'd the Occasion of his Voyage. The Senate gave immediate Advice to the *Romans* of this Transaction.

VILLIUS, one of the Deputies sent to *Ephe-* sus to acquaint himself with the State of Affairs there; and to discover if it was possible what were the Designs of *Antiochus*, found *Hannibal* in that

* They did more, for they sent two Ships to pursue and bring him back, they made a Sale of his Goods, raz'd his House, and by a publick Decree declar'd him banish'd from his Country. Such was the Gratitude shewn by *Carthage* to the greatest General that she ever bred. *Coru. Nep. in vita Hannib. c. 7.*

Somewhat of a *Publick* City.

City. He had several Conferences with him, pay'd him frequent Visits, and affect'd to testify a particular Esteem for him. But his Aim by all this was to render him suspected, and to lessen his Credit with the King, in which he succeeded ^y.

Liv. ibid.
Plutarch.
in vita
Flaminii.

THERE are Authors who assure us that *Scipio* was in this Embassy, and even give us the Particulars of a Conversation which he had with *Hannibal*. They say, that the *Roman* having ask'd him, who, in his Opinion, was the greatest Captain, he answer'd *Alexander the Great*, because with a Handful of *Macedonians* he had defeated innumerable Armies, and carried his Conquests into Countries so remote, that it seem'd too large for human Hope even to visit them. Being afterwards ask'd to whom he gave the second Place, he answer'd to *Pyrrhus*. For he first understood the marking out of Ground for Camps, took Towns with the greatest Art, and chose his Posts with the greatest Judgment; that he had so great a Dexterity in conciliating the Affections of People, that even the *Italian* Nations were more desirous of having him for their Governour than the *Romans*, to whom they had so long been subject. *Scipio* continuing, next ask'd him who was third Captain in his Esteem, and he made no Scruple to give the Preference to himself. Here *Scipio*, laughing, ask'd him, "But what would you have said, had you vanquish'd me? I would, he reply'd, have placed my self above *Alexander*, *Pyrrhus*, and all the Generals which have ever liv'd". *Scipio* was not insensible to so artful and fine a Flattery, which he did not expect, and which giving

^y Polybius represents this Application of Villius to Hannibal as a formed Design to render him suspected to Antiochus, for his Familiarity with a Roman. Livy owns that the Thing succeeded as if it had been design'd, but, for a

Reason very obvious, gives another Turn to this Conversation, and says, that no more was intended by *imban* to feel the Pulse of Hannibal, and to remove any Fears or Apprehensions which he might have of the Romans.

him no Rival, seem'd to insinuate that no Captain was fit to be put in Comparison with him.

HANNIBAL, sensible of the Coldness with which *Antiochus* receiv'd him since his Conferences with *Villius* and *Scipio*, suppress'd for some time the Sense of his Usage, and shut his Eyes against it. But at last he thought it proper to come to an *Eclaircissement* with the King, and to open his Mind freely to him. " My Father *Amilcar*, said he, when " I was a Boy placed me before the Altar, and " made me swear never to have any Friendship " with the *Roman* People. Under the Awe of this " Oath I fought six and thirty Years against them. " By this I was driven in the Time of Peace from " my own Country, and am come to seek an Asylum in yours. Under the Conduct of this I shall " never cease exciting up Enemies to the *Romans* " wherever there are Men and Arms, if my Hopes " are disappointed here — I hate, and am reciprocally " hated by the *Romans*. Of this, my Father " *Amilcar*, and the Gods themselves are Witnesses. " While therefore you have Thoughts of making " War upon them, depend upon *Hannibal* as an assured " Friend: (But if any Necessity drives you to " Peace, find out some other Counsellor than *Hannibal*, " who can entertain no other Thoughts but " those of War) This Speech, which came from the Heart, and carry'd evident Marks of its Sincerity, touch'd the King, and seem'd to scatter all his Suspicions. He resolv'd therefore to give him the Command of one Part of his Navy.

BUT what Ravages is not Flattery capable to produce in Courts and in the Minds of Princes? It was represented to *Antiochus*, " as an Imprudence, " in him to put so much Confidence in *Hannibal*, a " banish'd Man, a *Carthaginian*, whose Fortune or " mutable Genius might every Day suggest a thousand different Projects to him: That besides his " warlike Reputation, which he look'd on as pecu-

why do
he as
to ma
facult

why did he take Carth. as a liar to
Obt. Clu. de. so. 8. 10. —

“ liar to himself, was too excessive and dangerous
 “ for any Man who fought only under the Ensigns
 “ of another. That the King ought to be singly ad-
 “ dress’d to as the only General and Conductor of
 “ the War; but should *Hannibal* be employ’d, the
 “ Loss of the Navy or the Army would be the
 “ same as in the Hands of any other, whereas all
 “ the Glory of Success would fall to the Share of
 “ *Hannibal* without any Participation of *Antiochus*”.
No Minds, ² says *Livy* on this Occasion, are more sus-
 ceptible of *Envy* than those whose Merits are below
 their Birth and Dignity; to whom *Virtue* and *Worth*
 in others are ever hateful, because strange and
 foreign to themselves. This Observation was here
 verify’d to the Letter. *Antiochus* was taken on his
 blind Side; low Jealousy, which is the Mark of lit-
 tle Minds, extinguish’d in him every generous Senti-
 ment; *Hannibal* was now slighted and laid aside, but
 was well reveng’d on *Antiochus* by the ill Success of
 his Affairs, which discover’d how unfortunate that
 Prince is, who has his Breast accessible to the mean
 Attacks of *Envy*, and his Ears open to the poison-
 ous Insinuations of Flatterers.

Liv. l. 36. IN a Council held some time after, to which *Han-*
 n. 7. *nibal* for meer Form was admitted, he, when it
 came to his Turn to speak, apply’d all his Eloquence
 to prove that *Philip* of *Macedon* was on any Terms
 to be invited into the Alliance of *Antiochus*, which
 was not so difficult as was imagin’d. “ As to the
 “ Manner and Operations of War, continu’d he, I
 “ adhere immoveably to my first Opinion; and if
 “ I had been then heard, *Liguria* and *Tuscany* wou’d
 “ by this time have been in Flames, and *Hannibal*
 “ in *Italy* given the *Romans* their greatest Terror.
 “ Though I should be ignorant of all other kinds of

* Nulla ingenia tam prona ad invidiam sunt, quam eorum qui genus ac fortunam suam in aliis non aquant: Quia vir- tutem & bonum alienum ode- rant. The Sense is better by read- ing, ut bonum alienum, and so it is translated.

“ War,

“ War, yet my Prosperity, my Adversity have certainly taught me how to carry on one against the Romans. The Advice which I have given shall be seconded with no slow or unfaithful Endeavours. And may the Gods approve the Council which you are determined to follow.” *Hannibal's* Advice was received with Applause, but not one Syllable of it put in Execution.

ANTIOCHUS, deceived and lulled asleep by his Flatterers, remained secure at *Ephesus* after the Romans had driven him out of *Greece*, not dreaming that they would ever have the Thought of attacking him in his own Dominions. *Hannibal*, now restored to Favour, was not wanting to alarm him with the Danger of seeing the War immediately removed into *Asia*, and the Enemy at his own Gates: That he was either to think of abdicating his Empire, or of opposing in Time the Progress of a People who grasped at the Empire of the World. This Discourse awakened the King out of some Part of his Lethargy, and put him upon some weak Efforts. But as his Conduct was unsteady, after a great many considerable Losses sustained, he was necessitated to finish his Quarrel with the *Romans* by a shameful Peace, and by one of the Articles he engaged to deliver up *Hannibal* into their Hands. *Hannibal* deny'd him the Opportunity, and retired first to the Isle of *Crete*, to consider what he had next to do.

THE Riches brought along with him, which the Islanders had some Intimation of, had like to have proved his Ruin. *Hannibal* was never wanting in Shifts; and here he had Occasion for them to save both his Treasure and himself. He filled a great many Vessels with molten Lead, which he thinly covered over with Gold and Silver. These he deposited in the Temple of *Diana* before several *Creteans*, to whose Honesty, he said, he confided his Wealth. A strong Guard was placed upon the

Temple, and *Hannibal* left at full Liberty, as it was believed that his Treasures were secured. But he had concealed them in hollow Statues of Brass^a which he always carry'd about with him. He laid hold on a favourable Opportunity for his Escape, and went next to the Court of *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*.

Corn.
Nep. in
Annib.
Justin. 1.
32. c. 4

IT appears that he made some Stay in the Court of this Prince, who immediately engaged in a War against *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the declared Friend of the Romans. *Hannibal* made the Troops of *Prusias* successful in several Engagements both by Land and Sea^b.

Liv. 1. 35.
p. 51.

SERVICES so important seem'd to assure *Hannibal* of an undisturbed Asylum with that Prince. But the Romans left him no Repose, and deputed *Q. Flaminius* to *Prusias*, to complain of the Protection given by him to *Hannibal*. It was not difficult for *Hannibal* to guess at the Subject of this Embassy, but he waited not till his Enemies had him in their Power. At first he attempted to save himself by Flight, but perceiving that the seven conceal'd Passages, which he had contriv'd out of his House, were all seized by the Soldiers of *Prusias*, who by this Perfidy desired to make his Court to the Romans, he ordered the Poison which he had long kept for this melancholy Occasion to be brought, and holding it in his Hands, "Let us, said he, free
" the Romans from the Care which has so long tor-
" mented them, since they have not Patience to

^a These Statues were thrown out by him in a publick Place as Things of little Value. Corn. Nep.

^b Justin mentions a Stratagem made Use of by *Hannibal* in a Naval Engagement against *Eumenes*. He ordered several Earthen Pots to be fill'd with all Sorts of

Serpents, and, during the Engagement, thrown into the Ships of the Enemy. The Thing was laugh'd at at first, but the Serpents pouring out in greater Numbers upon the Decks, disordered the Soldiers, and oblig'd the Navy of *Eumenes* to seek its Safety in a Flight. L. 32. c. 4.

“ wait for an old Man’s Death. *Flaminius* will reap
 “ no great Honour from a Victory over a Man
 “ disarm’d and betray’d. This Day will be a last-
 “ ing Testimony of the Degeneracy of the *Romans*.
 “ Their Fathers cautioned *Pyrrhus*, while he was
 “ in Arms, and in the Bowels of *Italy*, against the
 “ intended Treachery of his own Servant, and their
 “ Posterity have deputed a Man of Consular Digni-
 “ ty, to prevail with *Prusias* impiously to murder
 “ his Friend and his Host.” After solemn Exe-
 crations of *Prusias*, and Invocations of the Gods,
 the Protectors and Avengers of the violated Rights
 of Hospitality, to pour their Curses on his Head,
 he swallowed the Poison^c; and died seventy Years
 of Age.

THIS Year was famous for the Deaths of three
 great Men, *Hannibal*, *Philopœmen*, and *Scipio*, who
 had this in common, that they all died out of their
 Country by a Death little correspondent to the Glo-
 ry of their Actions. The two first died by Poison.
Hannibal betray’d by his Host, and *Philopœmen*,
 taken Prisoner in an Action against the *Messenians*,
 and thrown into a Dungeon, was forced to drink
 Poison. *Scipio* went into a voluntary Banishment to
 avoid an unjust Impeachment designed against him
 at *Rome*, and ended his Days in a sort of Obscurity.

The Elogy and Character of HANNIBAL.

HERE would be a proper Place to display the
 excellent Qualities of *Hannibal* who has done so

^c Plutarch, according to his
 Custom, assigns him three different
 kinds of Death. Some, says he,
 report, that having wrapped his
 Cloak about his Neck, he ordered
 his servant to fix his Knee against
 his Buttocks, and not leave twist-
 ing it till he had strangled him.

Others say, that in Imitation of
 Themistocles and Midas, he
 drank Bulls Blood. Livy writes,
 that he mix’d a Poison always
 carry’d about with him, and ta-
 king the Cup into his Hands, said,
 “ Let us free, &c. In vita Fla-
 minii.

muck

Fourth Vol.
of the Me-
hod of
Study.

much Honour to *Carthage*. But as I have attempt-
ed his Character in another Place, and endeavour'd
to give a just Idea of him by comparing him with
Scipio, I think it not necessary to be very prolix in
his Character here.

PERSONS destin'd to the Profession of Arms can-
not too much study this great Man, whom the
learned in War regard as the greatest, the most ac-
complished Soldier in all the Art of War, that any
Age has produced.

IN the Space of seventeen Years that the War
continu'd, he is only charged with two Oversights :
The first was his Neglect to lead his victorious
Troops to the Siege of *Rome*, immediately after the
Battle of *Cannæ* ; the second was his suffering their
Courage to be softened in the Winter Quarters at
Capua : Oversights these which only shew that great
Men are not always so ; *Summi enim sunt, homines*
tamen ; and yet perhaps they may be partly ex-
cused.

Quintil.

BUT to these few Oversights, let us oppose the
excellent Qualities of *Hannibal*. What and how ex-
tensive were his Views from his tenderest Infancy !
What Grandeur of Soul ; what Intrepidity ; what
Presence of Mind in the Fire and Heat of Action to
take every Advantage ; what Dexterity in the Ma-
nagement of Mens Tempers ; so that in an Army
composed of so many different Nations, and often
destitute of both Provisions and Money, not one
Mutiny was ever heard of in his Camp, either against
himself, or any of his Generals ! What must his
Equity, his Moderation have been towards his new
Allies whom he always kept inviolably attach'd to
his Person and Interest, tho' he in a manner laid
the whole Load of the War upon their Shoulders
by quartering his Soldiers, and unavoidable Contri-
butions levy'd upon them ! Lastly, how great must
his Capacity and Invention have been to find out
still new Resources for the Continuance of so long
a War

a War in a distant Country, and this at a Time when a powerful Faction opposed him at home, denied him the necessary Supplies, and cross'd all his Designs. It may be said, that during so long a War, *Hannibal* appeared the only Prop of the State, and the Soul of the *Carthaginian* Empire, which could never believe itself vanquished; till *Hannibal* owned that he was so.

BUT it is by no means sufficient for *Hannibal's* Character to consider him only at the Head of Armies. His secret Intelligence with *Philip* King of *Macedon*, the wise Counsels which he gave to *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, the double Reformation which he effected at *Carthage* in the Treasury and the Courts of Justice, discover in him a compleat Statesman in every Respect. His extensive and masterly Genius took in all the Parts of Government, and his natural Talents qualified him to sustain with Reputation all its Offices. He was as consummate a Politician as he was a Soldier, and equally capable of Civil and Military Employments. In one word, he united the different Merits of the Professions of the Sword, the Gown, and the Treasury.

NOR did he want a good Share of Learning; but, employ'd as he was in military Labours and endless Wars, he found Time for the Cultivation of Letters^d. Numbers of ingenious Repartees preserved in History discover the Superiority of his Wit; which he compleated by the best Education which those Times and that Republick could afford him. He spoke *Greek* tolerably well, and even wrote some Books in that Language. He had a *Lacedemonian* Preceptor called *Sofilus*, who, with *Phienius*, another *Lacedemonian*, attended him in his Wars; and both laboured in composing the History of his great Actions.

^d Atque hic tantus vir tantisque bellis districtus nonnihil temporis tribuit litteris. Nam

que aliquot ejus Libri sunt Græco sermone confecti. *Corn. Nep. in Vita Hannib.*

His Religion and Morality are by no means so bad as they are represented by *Livy**, *Inhuman Cruelty more than Carthaginian Perfidy, no Truth, no Honesty, no Reverence of the Gods, no Regard to Oaths, no manner of Religion.* *Polybius* says, that he rejected with Horror a savage Proposal made to him, before he entered *Italy*, of eating human Flesh in a Scarcity of Provisions. Some Years after this, instead of treating with Barbarity the dead Body of *Sempronius Gracchus* sent to him by *Mago*, as some about him would have had him to do, he paid it the last Honours in the Sight of all his Army. We have seen him on many Occasions express a great Reverence for the Gods; and *Justin*, who copied from *Trogus Pompeius*, an Author very worthy of Credit, observes that his Chastity was so conspicuous amidst a Number of illustrious and beautiful Captives, that no body would have believed him born in *Africk* †, where Inconstancy was a national Vice.

His Disinterestedness, amidst so many Opportunities of enriching himself by the Spoils of vanquish'd Cities and Nations, instructs us that he knew the true Use which a General ought to make of Riches, by gaining with them the Hearts of his Soldiers, fixing his Allies to his Interests, bestowing seasonable Liberalities, and never sparing to reward: A Quality this of the last Importance to a General, and yet but rarely seen. *Hannibal* made no other Use of Money but to purchase Success, convinced that a Man at the Head of Affairs finds all the rest in the Glory of that.

HE led a Life always Austere and Sober, even in the Times of Peace and in the midst of *Carthage* while he sustained the first Dignity. And History

Inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica: Nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus decus metus, nullum jusjurandum,

nulla religio.

† Pudicitiamque cum tantam inter tot Captivas habuisse, ut in Africa natum quivis negaret.

observes

observes of him, that he never eat lying on a Bed, as was the Custom, and always drank a certain but small Proportion of Wine°. A Life so temperate and uniform, is an instructive Lesson to our present Soldiers, who esteem good Eating and Drinking as a Sort of Perquisite of War, and as Part of the Duty of an accomplished Officer.

I PRETEND not nevertheless to clear *Hannibal* from all the Reproaches with which his Memory is loaded. With all his shining Qualities it is not to be dissembled that he retained some Tincture of the Character and Vices of his Country, and that some Passages and Actions of his Life are not easily to be excused. *Polybius* remarks, that he was accused of Avarice at *Carthage*, and of Cruelty at *Rome*. He adds at the same Time, that Mens Sentiments were divided with regard to him; and that it would not be astonishing if, in both Cities, so many Enemies as he had, should propagate and encourage Reports injurious to his Reputation. But supposing even the Truth of the Facts with which he is charg'd, *Polybius* is inclinable to believe that they proceeded less from his natural Disposition, than from the Necessity of the Times, and his Complaisance for the General Officers who were so useful to him, whom he could no more always keep within Bounds, than the Soldiers under their Command.

Excerpt.
p. 1385,
1386. Ed.
Gronov.

° Cibi potitionisque, desiderio naturali, non voluptate, modus finitus. *Liv. l. 21. n. 4.*

Constat Annibalem nec tum cum Romano tonantem bello Italia contremuit, nec cum reversus Carthaginem summum

imperium tenuit, aut cubantem cenasse, aut plus quam sextario Vini indulgisse. *Justin. l. 32. c. 4.* Sextarius was a Measure something less than our English *Quart.*

SECT. II. *Differences between the Carthaginians and Masinissa King of Numidia.*

AMONGST the Conditions of the Peace granted to the *Carthaginians*, there was one which obliged them to restore back to *Masinissa* all the Territories and Cities which had been his before the War: Besides which, *Scipio*, to reward the Zeal and Fidelity which he had shew'd to the *Roman* People, had added to his Dominions those of *Syphax*. This Present was afterwards the Source of Disputes and Quarrels between the *Carthaginians* and the *Numidians*.

THESE two Princes *Syphax* and *Masinissa* were both Kings of *Numidia*, but of different Parts of it. The People who obey'd *Syphax* were called *Maslesuli*, and had for their Capital *Cirtha*. *Masinissa* had under him the People called *Massyli*. But both these People are better known by the Name of *Numidians* which was common to them. Their principal Strength lay in their Horses, which they rode without Saddles, and some even unbridled, from whence

En. l. 4.

. 41. *Virgil* gave them the Epithet of *Numide infrani*.

iv. l. 24.

. 8, 49.

IN the Beginning of the Second *Punic* War, *Syphax* embracing the Quarrel of the *Romans*, *Gala*, Father of *Masinissa*, to prevent the Progress of so puissant a Neighbour, thought it his Interest to espouse the Party of the *Carthaginians*, and sent against *Syphax* a numerous Army under the leading of his Son, then only 17 Years of Age. *Syphax*, overcome in a Battle, in which it is said he lost thirty thousand Men, made his Escape into *Mauritania*. But afterwards Things had another Face.

iv. l. 29.

. 29-34.

MASINISSA having lost his Father, often saw himself reduced to the last Extremity, forced from his Kingdom by an Usurper, warmly pursued by *Syphax*, in Danger every Moment of falling into the Hands

Hands of his Enemies, destitute of Forces, Money, and almost all Things else. He was then an Allie of the *Romans*, and the Friend of *Scipio*, with whom he had had an Interview in *Spain*. His Misfortunes left him no Power to bring great Succours to that General. When *Lælius* arriv'd in *Africk*, *Masinissa* joined him with a small Number of Horfe, and from that Time remain'd inviolably attach'd to the *Roman* Interest. *Syphax* on the contrary, having mar- Liv. l. 29. ried the famous *Sophonisba* Daughter of *Asdrubal*, n. 23. went into that of *Carthage*.

THE Fate of these two Princes changed once Idem, l. more, but without any Return. *Syphax* lost a great 30. n. 11, Battle, and fell alive in the Hands of the Enemy. 12, &c. *Masinissa* the Victor fell upon *Girtha*, his Capital, and took it. But he met with a Danger within the City greater than he had faced in the Field. This was *Sophonisba*, whose Charms and Caresses he was unable to resist. To secure her safely, he married her; but within a few Days was obliged to send her Poison for her Nuptial Present, having no other Way to keep his Word with her, and withdrew her from the Power of the *Romans*.

THIS was a Fault considerable in itself, and which could not but disoblige a Nation so jealous of its Authority. The young Prince gloriously repaired it by signal Services performed to *Scipio*. We have said that after the Defeat and Taking of *Syphax*, he was put into the Possession of that Prince's Dominions, and that the *Carthaginians* were obliged to restore all that had anciently belong'd to him. This gave Rise to the Differences which we are going to relate.

A TERRITORY situate towards the Border of Liv. l. 34. the Sea, near the lesser *Syrtis*, was the Subject of n. 62. them. The Country was rich, and the Soil fertile. A Proof of which is, that the single City of *Leptis* belonging to it, paid a *Daily Tribute* of a Talent to the *Carthaginians*. *Masinissa* had seized one Part of this

this Territory. On both Sides Deputies were dispatched to *Rome* to plead the Cause of their Masters before the Senate. ~The Senate thought proper to send *Scipio Africanus* and two other Commissioners to examine the Affair upon the Place. They return'd without having determin'd any Thing, and left the Business in the Uncertainty that they found it. Perhaps this Conduct was owing to the several Orders of the Senate in Favour of *Masinissa* who was then in Possession.

Liv. l. 40. n. 17. TEN Years after new Commissioners, nam'd to examine the same Affair^f, acted as the first had done, and left the whole undecided.

Idem, l. 42. n. 23, 24. A LIKE Space of Time had once more ran out, when the *Carthaginians* again brought their Complaint before the Senate, but with greater Importunity than before. They represented, that besides the Lands before contested, *Masinissa* had, the two foregoing Years, usurp'd more than seventy Towns and Castles belonging to them: That their Hands were bound up by the Article of the last Treaty, which forbid their making War upon any of the Allies of the *Roman* People: That they could no longer bear the Insolence, the Avarice, the Cruelty of that Prince: That they were dispatch'd to *Rome* with three Requests, which were, either that the Affair might be examined and decided by the Senate; or that they might be permitted to repel Force by Force, and defend themselves by Arms; or that, if Favour was to carry it over Justice, the *Roman*

^f Mr. Rollin seems to mistake Livy, when he says here that these Commissioners came to examine the same Affair which had been debated before Scipio and his Colleagues ten Years before. No End indeed had been made of the old Quarrel, but it seems at least that a new one was now brought

before the *Roman* Commissioners. The Particulars shewn to the Cause of *Masinissa* before, doubtless incourag'd him to commit fresh Hostilities upon the *Carthaginians*; and, if I understand Livy right, the Injuries now to be redress'd belong'd chiefly to this Year.

People would, once for all, signify what *Carthaginian* Lands they were desirous should be invested in *Masinissa*, that at least they might hereafter know what they had to rely on; and that the *Roman* People would have some Regard to them, as that Prince put no other Bounds to his Pretensions, than his insatiable Avarice. The Deputies concluded with beseeching the *Romans* that any Faults the *Carthaginians* might have committed, since the Conclusion of the last Peace, might be punished by themselves; and that they might not be given up to the Discretion and Caprice of a Prince, who made their Liberty precarious, and their Lives uncomfortable. After this Speech ended, pierc'd with the most lively Sorrow they prostrated themselves upon the Earth, and by so moving a Spectacle, touch'd all present with Compassion, and excited a Detestation of *Masinissa*. It was demanded of his Son *Gulussa*, who was present, what he had to reply. He answer'd, that his Father had given him no Instructions, not knowing of what he was to be accused. He pray'd the Senate to reflect, that all this Hatred drawn upon him from *Carthage*, was owing to his inviolable Fidelity to them. The Senate, after both Sides were heard, answered that they were inclined to do Justice wherever it was due: That *Gulussa* should immediately depart with their Commands to his Father to send Deputies with those of *Carthage*: That he might depend upon every Thing which lay in their Power, without Injury done to the *Carthaginians*; and that the *Roman* People had granted Cities and Territories to the vanquished *Carthaginians*, not to ravish in the Time of Peace, what they had not taken by the Law of Arms. The Deputies of both Powers were dismissed, after they had received the customary Presents.

BUT all these Assurances were only so many Words. It is clear that *Rome* gave herself no Trouble to satisfy the *Carthaginians*, or to do them Justice,

and the Affair was purposely drawn out to give *Masiniſſa* an Opportunity of eſtabliſhing himſelf in his Uſurpations, and weakening his Enemies.

App. de
bell. Pun.
p. 61, 62.
Edit.
Toll.

A NEW Deputation was ſent to examine the Affair upon the Spot, and *Cato* was one of the Com-miſſioners. On their Arrival they aſk'd the Parties if they were willing to abide by their Determination. *Masiniſſa* readily gave his Conſent. The *Carthaginians* answered, that they had a fix'd Rule to which they adher'd, which was the Treaty concluded by *Scipio*, and deſired to have their Pretenſions examin'd with all poſſible Rigour. Nothing therefore could be decided. The Deputies viſited all the Country, which they found in good Condition, but chiefly the City of *Carthage*. The Grandeur and Power which it had recovered ſo ſoon after its Calamity aſtoniſhed them. The Senate was induſtriouſly acquainted with this on their Return, and they declared that there could be no Safety for *Rome*, while *Carthage* ſubſiſted. From this Time, whatever Affair was debated before the Senate, *Cato* always added to his Opinion, *This I think, and that Carthage is to be deſtroy'd*. This grave Senator gave himſelf no Trouble to prove that the ſingle Umbrage taken at the growing Power of a neighbouring State, is a ſufficient Warrant for deſtroying a City contrary to the Faith of Treaties. *Scipio Naſica* on the other hand was of Opinion, that the Ruin of this City would be attended with that of the *Roman* Commonwealth, which having no longer a Rival to fear, would quit the ancient Severity of her Manners, and abandon herſelf to Luxury and Pleaſure, the never failing Deſtroyers of the moſt flouriſhing Empires.

App. ibid. IN the mean time a Quarrel aroſe in *Carthage*. The Popular Faction, being ſuperior to that of the Great ones and the Senators, ſent forty Citizens into Exile, with an Oath impoſed upon the People, that

no mention should ever be made of recalling them. They retired to *Masinissa*, who dispatched to *Carthage* his two Sons *Gulussa* and *Micipsa* to solicit their Restoration. The Gates of the City were shut against them, and one of them was hotly pursued by *Amilcar*, one of the Commonwealth Generals. Here was a new Subject of War, and Armies were lev'y'd on both Sides. A Battle was fought, and the younger *Scipio*, who afterwards ruin'd *Carthage*, was a Spectator of it. He had been sent to *Masinissa*, with a Demand of some Elephants, from *Lucullus* in *Spain*, under whom *Scipio* then served. During the whole Fight he stood upon a neighbouring Hill, and was astonished to see *Masinissa*, then eighty Years of Age, mounted, agreeably to the Custom of his Country, upon a Horse without a Saddle, flying thro' the Ranks like a young Officer, and sustaining all the most difficult Labours. The Fight was obstinate, and held all Day, but ended in the Defeat of the *Carthaginians*. *Scipio* said afterwards, that he had been present at many Battles, but never with such Pleasure before, for that this was the single Time that he had beheld so formidable an Army engaged, with no Danger to himself. And, as he was conversant in the Writings of *Homer*, he added, that till his Time only two more had been Spectators of such an Action; *Jupiter* from *Ida*, and *Neptune* from *Samothrace*, of the *Greeks* and *Trojans* engag'd before *Troy*. I know not whether the Sight of a hundred and ten thousand Men (for so many they were) cutting one another's Throats, can give us a real Pleasure, or whether such a Pleasure is consistent with the Sentiments of Humanity so natural to all Mankind.

THE *Carthaginians*, after the Engagement, pray'd *Idem* *Scipio* to terminate their Disputes with *Masinissa*. He heard both Parties; and the *Carthaginians* consented to yield up the Territories of *Empo-*

ria^g, which had been the first Subject of the Quarrel, to pay actually to *Masinissa* two hundred Talents of Silver, and eight hundred more at such times as should be agreed on. But *Masinissa*, insisting on the Return of the Exiles, nothing was concluded. *Scipio*, after having pay'd his Complements and Thanks to *Masinissa*, departed with the Elephants which he came for.

Idem.

THE King, after the Flight, held the Camp of the Enemies block'd up upon a Hill, where neither Troops nor Provisions could come at 'em. In the interim arriv'd Envoys from *Rome*, with Orders from the Senate to terminate the Affairs, if the King was worsted; otherwise to leave it undecided, and to give Assurances of continu'd Friendship to the King: And they comply'd with the last Part of their Instructions. In the mean time Famine daily increas'd in the Camp of the Enemies, and the Plague, being added to it for a new Calamity, made terrible Ravage. Reduc'd to the last Extremity they surrendered to *Masinissa*, with Promise of delivering up Deserters, of paying him five thousand Talents of Silver in fifty Years, and of restoring the Exiles notwithstanding their Oaths to the contrary. They all underwent the Ignominy of passing under the Gallows^h, and were sent off with only one Habit. *Gulussa*, to revenge himself for the ill Treatment which he had receiv'd, sent

^g The Emporium, or Emporia, was a Country of Africk upon the Lesser Syrtis, in which Leptis stood. The Carthaginians had no part of their Dominions, which was more fruitful than this. Polybius, b. 1. says, that the Revenue, coming to them from this Place, was so ample, that all their Hopes were almost founded in it, ἐν αἷς (viz. their Revenues from Emporia) εἶχον τὰς μέγιστας ἐλπίδας. To this was owing their Care and State-jealousy mentioned before,

lest the Romans should sail beyond the Fair Promontory which lay before Carthage, and become acquainted with a Country, which might tempt them to bring their Arms for the Conquest of it.

^h Ils surent tous passés sous le joug, Sub jugum missi; a kind of Gallows was erected by two forked Sticks standing upright with a Spear laid across, under which vanquish'd Enemies were oblig'd to go. Festus.

against

against them a Body of Horse whom they could neither avoid nor resist, in the Weakness that they were reduc'd to. So that of fifty eight thousand Men very few return'd to *Carthage*.

The Third Punic War.

THE third *Punic War*, less considerable than either of the former by the Number and Greatness of the Actions, and by its Continuance, which was no more than four Years, was yet more remarkable by the Success and Event of it, as it terminated in the entire Ruin and Destruction of *Carthage*.

THAT City was very sensible since her last Defeat what she had to fear from *Rome*, from whom she met with unkind Usage as often as she address'd her about the Differences with *Masinissa*. To prevent the Consequences, the *Carthaginians*, by a Decree of the Senate, declar'd *Asdrubal* General of the Army, and *Carthalo* Commanderⁱ of the auxiliary Forces, guilty of high Treason as being Authors of the War against the King of *Numidia*. Then they sent a Deputation to *Rome* to inform themselves what was the Opinion there of their late Proceedings, and what more was desir'd of them. The Deputies were coldly answer'd, that the Senate and People of *Carthage* well knew what Satisfaction was due to the *Romans*. A second Deputation bringing them no clearer Answer, they fell into the greatest Dejection; and seiz'd with a confounding Fear, in Memory of what they had before suffer'd, they fancied the Enemy already at their Gates, and represented all the dismal Consequences of a long Siege and a City taken Sword in Hand.

ⁱ Foreign Forces were govern'd by Chiefs of their respective Nations, who were all under the Command of a Carthaginian Officer call'd by Appian Βοηθηταρχος.

Plut in vi-
a Cat.

IN the mean time it was debated at *Rome* what Party the Senate was to embrace, and the Disputes between *Cato* and *Scipio Nasica*, on this Subject, reviv'd. The former, on his Return from *Africk*, had represented in the strongest Terms the present State of *Carthage* not exhausted of Men or Money, not weaken'd and humbled, as the *Romans* believ'd; but, on the contrary, fill'd with a numerous Youth, with immense Quantities of Gold and Silver, with prodigious Magazines of Arms and all warlike Furniture; and so fierce and confident in these Stores that there was nothing so high to which she did not raise her Hopes and Ambition. It is moreover said, that after he had finish'd his Speech he threw out of his Lap before the Senate some *African Figs*, and the Senators admiring the Beauty and Largeness of them, *Know*, said he, *that it is but thrée Days since these Fruits were gather'd. Such is the Distance between the Enemy and us.*

Plin. b. 15.
: 18.

Plut in vi-
a Cat.

CATO and *Nasica* had each of 'em their Reasons for voting as they did. *Nasica* observing in the People an Insolence which threw them into every Excess: Observing that their Properties had fill'd them with a Pride which the Senate it self was unable to check: Observing that their Power was arriv'd to a Pitch so as to be capable of drawing the City by Force into every mad Design of theirs: *Nasica*, I say, observing all this, was desirous to leave the Fear of *Carthage* as a Bridle to restrain and moderate their Insolence. For he consider'd that the *Carthaginians* were too weak to give any Danger to *Rome*, and yet not so weak as to be altogether contemptible. *Cato* on his Side reflected, that to a People become fierce and insolent by Successes, and plung'd headlong into every Disorder, nothing was more dangerous than a Rival City and an Enemy left; defeated indeed, but still powerful; made wise by Misfortunes, and more cautious than ever; than their Fears of any Danger from with-
out

out ~~un~~removed, when all the Means of carrying them into every dangerous Excess were remaining within.

TO forget for one Moment the Laws of Equity, I leave it to the Reader to determine which of these two great Men reason'd best upon the Views of sound Politicks, and the true Interests of the State. What is certain, is that all *Historians* have observ'd a Change which visibly ensu'd in the Conduct and Government of *Rome* upon the Ruin of *Carthage*^k: That Vice no longer timorously, and as by stealth, made its Way into *Rome*, but appear'd barefac'd, and seiz'd all Orders of the Republick: That Senators, Plebeians, in short all Ranks deliver'd themselves up to the Luxury and Delights without any Guard or Sense of Decency, than which nothing more certainly brings on the Ruin of a State. "The first *Scipio*¹, says *Paterculus* speaking of the *Romans*, had open'd the Way to their future Grandeur, the latter to all manner of Luxury and Desolation. For the Fear of *Carthage* being remov'd, and her Emulation taken away, a Corruption of Manners no longer came slowly on, but with bold and swift Advances".

BE this as it will, the Senate resolv'd to declare App. ibid. War against the *Carthaginians*, and the Reasons, or Pretexes, urg'd for it were, their preserving Ships contrary to the Tenour of Treaties, their sending an Army out of their Territories against a Prince in

^k Ubi Carthago, & æmula imperii Romani ab stirpe interiit. Fortuna sævire ac miscere omnia cœpit. *Sallust. in bell. Catilin.*

Ante Carthaginem deletam populus & Senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se Remp. tractabant. . . . Metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formido illa mentibus deceffit, ili-

cet ea; quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia incescere. *Idem in bello Jugurthino.*

¹ Potentiæ Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriæ posterior aperuit. Quippe remoto Carthaginis metu, sublataque imperii æmula, non gradu, sed præcipiti cursu a virtute descitum, ad vitia transcursum. *Vel. Pat. Lib. 2. c. 1.*

Alliance with *Rome*, whose Son they ill treated at the very time that he had with him a *Roman* Ambassador.

App. ibid. AN Event accidentally, and fortunately, happening in the Time of the Deliberation upon the Affairs of *Carthage*, doubtless contributed much to hasten this Resolution. This was the Arrival of Deputies from *Utica*, who came to put themselves, their Goods, their Lands, and their City into the Hands of the *Romans*. *Utica* was the second Place of *Africk*, very opulent, with a Port equally spacious and commodious, and situated so near to *Carthage* that it might serve as a Magazine of Arms in the Attack of that City. There was now no more Hesitation, but War was declar'd in all its Forms. The two Consuls *M. Manilius* and *L. Marcius Censorinus*, were press'd to depart as soon as was possible. They had secret Orders from the Senate not to conclude the War but with the Destruction of *Carthage*. They immediately left *Rome*, and stopp'd at *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*: The Fleet was considerable, and had on Board fourscore thousand Foot and four thousand Horse.

Polyb. excerpt. le-
gat. n. 142.
Edit.
Gronov. *CARTHAGE* was yet unacquainted with the Resolutions taken at *Rome*. The Answer brought back by their Deputies, had only increas'd their Trouble and Uneasiness. It belong'd to the *Carthaginians* to consider what Satisfaction was due to the *Romans*. This made them irresolute what Party to embrace. At last they sent new Deputies with full Powers to act as they saw fit, and even (what the Wars before could never bring them to) to declare that the *Carthaginians* made a Surrender of themselves and all they had to the Direction of the *Romans*. This, in Virtue of the Clause, *se suaque eorum arbitrio permittere*, was putting themselves without Reserve into the Power of the *Romans*, and turning Vassals to their Conquerors. Nevertheless no great Success was expected from this Condescension

sion

sion, as mortifying as it was to the *Carthaginians*, because the *Uticans*, before-hand with them, had depriv'd them of the Merit of a ready and voluntary Submission.

ON their Arrival at *Rome* the Deputies were inform'd that the War was declar'd, and the Army sent out. *Rome* had dispatch'd a Courier to *Carthage* with the Decree of the Senate, and the Information that the Fleet was sail'd. The Deputies therefore had no Time for Deliberation, and put themselves and all that belong'd to *Carthage* into the Hands of the *Romans*. In Acknowledgment of this Behaviour, they were answer'd that since they had at last embrac'd the best Side, the Senate granted them Liberty, the Enjoyment of their Laws, all their Territories, and all their other Possessions, whether of private Men or the Republick, provided that within the Space of thirty Days they sent as Hostages to *Lilybaeum*, three hundred young *Carthaginian* Gentlemen of the first Distinction, and comply'd with the Orders of the Consuls. This last Condition threw them into strange Uneasiness: But the Concern which they were in allow'd them to make no Reply, or to demand an Explication; nor would it have been to any Purpose. They therefore departed for *Carthage*, and there gave an Account of their Ambassy.

ALL the Articles of the Treaty were mortifying; but the Silence with regard to the Cities, of which no Notice was taken in the Concessions which *Rome* was willing to make, gave them the last Uneasiness. But Obedience was only left to their Share. After so many ancient and recent Losses they were by no means in a Condition to bear up against such an Enemy, who were not able to deal with *Masiniſſa*. Troops, Provisions, Vessels, Allies were all wanting; and Hope and Resolution more than all the rest.

THEY did not think it proper to wait the Expiration of the thirty Days assign'd them, but immediately

mediately sent their Hostages to soften the Enemy by the Readiness of their Obedience, tho' they durst not flatter themselves with such an Expectation. These Hostages were the Flower and the very Hopes of the noblest Families of *Carthage*. Never Sight was more moving, nothing was heard but Cries, nothing seen but Tears, and Groans and Lamentations resounded every where. The Mothers of these Hostages distinguish'd themselves above all the rest; all bath'd in Tears, they tore their Hairs, beat their Breasts, and, as if become mad with Grief and Despair, they howl'd in a manner capable to touch the most harden'd Breasts. But the Scene was still more mournful in the fatal Moment of the Separation, when, after having conducted them aboard the Ship, they gave them their last Adieus never expecting to see them more; they wash'd them with Tears, embrac'd and held them fast to their Breasts, nor would consent to their Departure till they were tore from them, by a Separation more cruel and afflicting than if they had parted with their own Bowels. The Hostages were convey'd from *Sicily* to *Rome*, and the Consuls told the Deputies that they should receive from them the Orders of the Senate on their Arrival at *Utica*.

slyb.
ppian.
44-46. IN such a Situation of Affairs there is nothing more afflicting than an Uncertainty, which, without descending to any Particulars, presents to the Mind every Instance of Suffering and Misery. When it was known that the Fleet was arriv'd at *Utica*, the Deputies repair'd to the *Roman* Camp, signifying that they came in the Name of *Carthage* to receive their Orders, to which she was ready to pay an unreserv'd Obedience. The Consul, after Praises bestow'd upon their good Disposition and Compliance, order'd them to deliver up to him without Fraud or Delay all their Arms. They consented, but pray'd him to reflect what Condition he was reducing them to in the Time that *Asdrubal*, whose Quarrel

Quarrel against them was owing to no other Cause but their perfect Submission to the Orders of the *Romans*, was almost at their Gates with an Army of twenty thousand Men. The Answer made them was that the *Romans* would take care.

THIS Order was immediately put in Execution. There was seen coming into the Camp a long Train of Waggons loaded with all the Preparations of War in *Carthage*: Two hundred thousand compleat Sets of Armour, an infinite Number of Darts and short Javelins, two thousand Engines for shooting Darts and Stones*. Then followed the Deputies of *Carthage*, attended with the most venerable Senators and Priests, who came on purpose to try to move the Compassion of the *Romans* in this critical Moment, when their Sentence was going to be pronounced, and their Fate to be irreversibly determined. The Consul *Censorinus*, for it was he that spoke all along, stood up at their coming, and express'd some Kindness and Affection towards them; then suddenly putting on again a grave and stern Countenance: "I can't
" but commend, said he to them, your Readiness
" in executing the Orders of the Senate. They
" have charg'd me to let you know that it is their
" Will and Pleasure that you depart out of *Car-*
" *thage*, which they have resolv'd to destroy, and
" remove into some other Part of your Dominions,
" such as you shall chuse, provided that it be at the
" distance of eighty *Stadia*^f from the Sea".

As soon as the Consul had pronounced this shock-App. ing Decree, nothing was heard but lamentable Shrieks p. 46-53. and Outcries among the *Carthaginians*. Thunder-struck at the Receipt of it, they knew neither where they were, nor what they did; but roll'd themselves in the Dust, rending their Cloaths, and unable to utter any thing but Sighs and Groans. Having recover'd themselves a little they held up their Hands

* Balistæ or Catapultæ.

^f Four Leagues, or twelve Miles.

in a suppliant Posture sometimes towards the Gods, and sometimes towards the *Romans*, imploring their Mercy and Justice for a People that was going to be reduced to the Extremity of Despair. But Gods and Men being deaf to their Prayers, they soon chang'd them into Revilings and Imprecations, bidding the *Romans* remember that there were avenging Deities, who were Witnesses of Crimes and Perfidiousness. The *Romans* could not refrain from Tears at the Sight of so moving a Spectacle, but their Resolution was formed. The Deputies were not able so much as to get the Execution of this Order put off for a while, till they could have an Opportunity of prostrating themselves before the Senate, and trying to have it revok'd. They were forced to go immediately, and carry the Answer to *Carthage*.

App

p. 53, 54.

THE People were waiting for their Return with such a Degree of Impatience and Concern as cannot be express'd. Hardly could they break through the Crowd that was flocking round them to hear the Answer, which it was but too easy to read on their Faces. When they came to the Senate, and declared the barbarous Orders they had received, a General Shriek gave the People to understand what their Fate was: And from that Moment nothing was heard all over the City but Howling, but Despair, Rage, and Fury.

HERE let me beg leave to stop a Moment, and reflect on the Conduct of the *Romans*. It is great Pity that the Fragment of *Polybius*, wherein an Account is given of this Deputation, should end exactly in the most affecting Part of this Story; I should more value one short Reflection of so judicious an Author, than the long Harangues which *Appian* puts in the Mouths of the Deputies and the Consul. I can't believe that so sensible, so rational, and just a Man as *Polybius* could approve on the present Occasions the Proceedings of the *Romans*. There in appear not, to my Opinion, any Marks of their
ancient

ancient Character; of that Greatness and Nobleness of Soul; of that Uprightness, and utter Abhorrence for all mean Artifices, Frauds, and Impostures, which, as is said somewhere, the *Romans* were Strangers to^{B.} Why did they not attack the *Carthaginians* fairly and openly? Why should they plainly declare in a Treaty, which is a most sacred Thing, that they granted them their Liberty and the Use of their Laws, and mean at the same time some private Conditions that were the entire Ruin of both? Why should they conceal under the scandalous Omission of the Word *City* in the Treaty, the perfidious Design of destroying *Carthage*, as if under the Cover of that Equivocation they could have justly done it? Why, in short, did they not make their last Declaration, till after having got from them at different times their Hostages and Arms, that is, till after having absolutely rendered them incapable of refusing them any thing? Is it not plain that *Carthage*, notwithstanding all her Defeats and Losses, tho' weakened and brought very low, is still a Terror to the *Romans*, and that they think themselves unable to conquer it by Force of Arms? It is very dangerous to be powerful enough to commit Injustice with Impunity, or with a Prospect of being a Gainer by it. The Experience of all Ages teaches us that States seldom boggle at the Commission of it, when they think it will turn to their Advantage.

THE noble Character given of the *Acheans* by *Polybius*, is widely different from the Practice now under Consideration. These People, saith he, far from acting deceitfully and fraudulently towards their Allies, in order to enlarge their Power, did not think themselves so much as authorized to deal thus with their Enemies, accounting no Victory solid and glorious but such as was got Sword in hand by mere Courage and Bravery. He owns in the same Place,

‡ Minime Romanis artibus.

that

that there were among the *Romans* but very faint Remains of the ancient Generosity of their Ancestors; and he thinks himself oblig'd, as he says, to take notice of this in Opposition to a Maxim grown common in his Time among some Governours, who imagin'd that Honesty is inconsistent with good Policy, and that it is impossible to succeed in the Administration of publick Affairs either in War or Peace, without using sometimes Fraud and Deceit.

App. p. 55. I RETURN now to my Subject. The Consuls made no great Haste to march against *Carthage*, not suspecting they had anything to fear from a disarmed City. The Inhabitants took an Advantage of this Delay to put themselves in a Posture of Defence: For they unanimously resolved not to quit the City. They named for General without the Walls *Asdrubal*, who was at the Head of twenty thousand Men, and to whom Deputies were sent to intreat him to forget, for the Sake of his Country, the Injustice that had been done him out of Fear of the *Romans*. The Command of the Troops within the Walls was given to another *Asdrubal*, the Grandson of *Masinissa*. Then they set themselves about making Arms with an incredible Expedition. The Temple, the Palaces, and the publick Places were converted into so many Work-houses, wherein Men and Women worked Day and Night. Every Day were made a hundred and forty Shields, three hundred Swords, five hundred Pikes or Javelins, a thousand Darts, and a great Number of Engines to shoot them; and because they wanted Materials to make Ropes, the Women cut off their Hair, and abundantly supplied their Wants in this Respect.

Page 55. *MASINISSA* grew dissatisfy'd with the *Romans*, in that after he had extremely weakened the *Carthaginians*, they came and reaped the Fruits of his Victory, without acquainting him with their Design; this caused some Coldness between them.

IN the mean time the Consuls were advancing towards the City, and preparing to besiege it. As they expected nothing less than a vigorous Resistance, the incredible Resolution of the besieged filled them with the utmost Astonishment. There was nothing but frequent and vigorous Sallies to drive back the Besiegers, to burn their Machines, and to harass the Foragers. *Censorinus* attack'd the City on one side, and *Manilius* on the other. *Scipio* afterwards surnamed *Africanus*, was then a Tribune in the Army, and distinguished himself from the rest of the Officers as much by his Prudence as his Bravery. The Consul, under whom he served, committed many Oversights for refusing to follow his Advice. This young Officer disengaged the Troops from dangerous Passes which their imprudent Leaders had run them into: A renowned Person, named *Phameas*, who was General of the Enemy's Cavalry, and continually harass'd the Foragers, durst not keep the Field when it came to *Scipio's* Turn to support them, so well did he know how to manage his Troops, and post himself advantageously. Such a great and universal Reputation at first procured him Envy: But as he behaved in all Respects with abundance of Modesty and Discretion, it soon turned into Admiration; so that when the Senate sent Deputies to the Camp to enquire into the State of the Siege, the whole Army agreed in giving him the highest Commendations; Soldiers, Officers, and even Generals, were unanimous in extolling the Merit of the young *Scipio*: So necessary is it for a Man to qualify, if I may so speak, the Lustre of a rising Glory, with a sweet and modest Behaviour; and not to stir up People's Jealousy by haughty and conceited Airs, the natural Effect whereof is to awaken Self-love in others, and render even Virtue itself odious!

ABOUT the same time *Masimissa*, finding his End Page 63. approaching, sent to desire *Scipio* to come to him, that he might empower him to dispose, as he should think

think proper, of his Kingdom and Estate in behalf of his Children. When he came, he found him dead. That Prince had with his last Breath enjoyned them to follow in every Respect the Directions of *Scipio*, whom he appointed for their Father and Guardian. I shall here give no further Account of the Posterity of *Masinissa*, intending to do it more fully towards the End of this Volume; the inserting of it here would too much interrupt the Thread of the History of *Carthage*.

Page 65.

THE high Esteem *Phameas* had conceived for *Scipio*, induced him to forsake the *Carthaginians*, and side with the *Romans*. He came over to him with above two thousand Horse, and proved afterwards very serviceable to him in the Siege.

Page 66.

CALPURNIUS Piso the Consul, and *L. Mancinus* his Lieutenant, landed in *Africa* in the Beginning of the Spring. During this Campaign nothing remarkable was done. Nay they were even worsted in several Actions, and carried on but slowly the Siege of *Carthage*. The besieged on the contrary had regained their Courage. Their Troops increased considerably; they got every Day new Allies: And sent even as far as *Macedonia* to the counterfeit *Philip*^a who pretended to be the Son of *Perseus*, and was then at War with the *Romans*, exhorting him to carry it on vigorously, and promising to furnish him with Money and Ships.

Page 68.

THIS News caused some Uneasiness at *Rome*. People began to doubt of the Success of a War which became daily more uncertain and important than was at first imagined. As much as they were dissatisfied with the Slowness of the Generals, and rail'd at their Conduct; so much did they all agree in praising young *Scipio*, and extolling his Virtue. He was come to *Rome* to stand for an *Edile's* Place. As soon as he appeared in the Assembly, his Name, his Counte-

^a Andronicus.

ance, his Reputation, a general Persuasion that he was design'd by the Gods to put an End to the third *Punick* War, as the first *Scipio*, his Grandfather by Adoption, had done to the second; all this made a very great Impression on the People; and though it was contrary to Law, and therefore opposed by the elder sort, instead of the *Edile's* Place which he sued for, the People, neglecting for this once the Laws, conferr'd upon him the Consulship; and assigned him *Africa* for his Province, without casting Lots for the Provinces as was usual, and as *Drusus* his Colleague required it should be done.

As soon as *Scipio* had compleated his Recruits; App. he set out for *Sicily*, and arriv'd soon after at *Utica*. p. 69. He came very seasonably for *Mancinus Piso's* Lieutenant, who had rashly engaged himself in a Post where he was hemm'd in by the Enemies, and would have been cut in Pieces by them that very Morning, if the new Consul, who, at his Arrival heard of the Danger he was in, had not imbarcked his Troops in the Night, and hastened with all Speed to his Assistance.

THE first Care *Scipio* took after his Arrival, was Page 70. to restore Discipline among the Troops, which he found entirely abolish'd. There was no Order, no Subordination, no Obedience. Nothing was minded but Plundering, Feasting, and Diversions. He turn'd out of the Camp all useles Persons, regulated the Quality of the Victuals he would have brought in by the Sutlers, and allowed of no other but what were plain and fit for Soldiers, banishing carefully whatever had a Relish of Delicacy and Luxurioufness.

AFTER he had wrought this Reformation, which cost him but little Time and Trouble, because he himself gave an Example to others, he then reckon'd that he had *Soldiers*, and set himself seriously about carrying on the Siege. Having ordered his Troops to furnish themselves with Axes, Levers, and Lad-
Z
ders,

ders, he led them by Night without the least Noise, to that Part of the City which was called *Megara*, and bidding them give a sudden Shout, attacked it vigorously. The Enemies, who expected no such thing in the Night, were at first extremely terrified; notwithstanding, they defended themselves so courageously, that *Scipio* could not scale the Walls. But perceiving a Tower that was forsaken, and stood without the City, nigh the Walls, he detached a Number of bold and resolute Soldiers, who by means of *Pontons* got from the Tower to the Walls, and from thence into *Megara*, whose Gates they broke down. *Scipio* went in immediately and drove the Enemies out of that Post; who, frighted at this unexpected Assault, and thinking that the whole City was taken, fled into the Citadel, where they were followed by the Troops that were encamped within the City, who left their Camp to the *Romans*, and came to put themselves there, as they fancied, out of Danger.

App. BEFORE I proceed any further, it will be expedient to give some Account of the Situation and Largeness of *Carthage*, which in the Beginning of the War against the *Romans* contained seven hundred thousand Inhabitants. It lay at the Bottom of a Gulf, surrounded with the Sea in the Shape of a Peninsula, whose Neck, that is, the Isthmus which parted it from the Continent, was twenty-five *Stadia*, or a League and a Quarter in Breadth. The Peninsula was 360 *Stadia*, or eighteen Leagues round. On the West-side there jutted out from it a long Point of Land, half a *Stadium*, or about sixty-two Paces broad, which advancing into the Sea, divided it from a Morass, and was on all sides fenced with Rocks and a Wall. On the South-side, towards the Continent, where stood the Citadel called *Byrsa*, it was fortified with a triple Wall, thirty Cubits high without the Breast-works and Towers wherewith it was flank'd all round at equal Distances, there being four

App.
p. 56, 57.
Strab l.
27. p. 832.

fourſcore Fathoms between each other. Every Tower was four Stories high, and the Walls but two; they were arched, and in the lower Part were Apartments that could hold three hundred Elephants with their Fodder; above were Stables for four thousand Horses, and Granaries for their Food. There was also room enough to lodge twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. In short, all these Implements of War were contained within the Walls only. These Walls were weak and low but in one place; and that was a neglected Angle, which began at the Point of Land above-mentioned, and reached as far as the Harbours, which lay on the West-side. There were two of them, which had a Communication one with another, and but one Entrance, seventy Foot *Foot!* broad, and shut up with Chains. The first was for the Merchants, there being in it several and distinct Habitations for the Seamen. The other, or the inner Harbour, was for the Men of War, and in the midst of it stood an Island, named *Cothon*, lined, as was also the Harbour, with large Keys, in which were contrived distinct Receptacles* for two hundred and twenty Ships, where they stood safe from the Weather; and above were Magazines, wherein was kept whatever is necessary for the arming and equipping a Fleet. The Entrance into each of these Receptacles was adorned with two Marble Pillars of the *Ionick* Order: So that both the Harbour and Island resembled on each side two sumptuous Galleries. In this Island was built the Admiral's Palace; and as it stood over against the Harbour's Mouth, he could from thence discover whatever was done on the Sea, without any one's being able from thence to see what was done in the innermost Harbour. The Merchants likewise had no Prospect of the Men of War, the two Ports being separated by a double Wall, and each having its particular Gate that led into the City,

* *Νεωοίκισ.* Strabo.

without going through the other Harbour. So that *Carthage* may be divided into three Parts. The Harbour, which was double, and is sometimes called *Cotbon*, from the little Island of that Name; The Citadel, named *Byrsa*: The City properly so called, where the Inhabitants dwelt, which lay round the Citadel, and was stiled *Megara*.

och. in
nal.
512.

Page 72.

EARLY in the Morning, *Asdrubal*ⁱ perceiving the shameful Overthrow of his Troops, that he might be revenged on the *Romans*, and deprive at the same time the Inhabitants of all Hopes of Pardon and Accommodation, brought the *Roman* Prisoners he had upon the Walls, so as that they should be within Sight of the whole Army. There he put them to the most exquisite Torments; putting out their Eyes, cutting off their Noses, Ears, and Fingers; and tearing their Skin to Pieces with Iron Combs; and then throwing them down headlong from the Top of the Walls. Such inhuman Treatment filled the *Carthaginians* with Horror: But he did not spare even Them, putting many Senators to Death that had the Courage to oppose his tyrannical Proceedings.

Page 73.

SCIPIO, finding himself absolute Master of the *Isthmus*, burnt the Camp that had been deserted by the Enemies, and built a new one for his Troops. It was square; surrounded with large and deep Entrenchments, which were fenced with strong Palisado's. On the Side that faced the *Carthaginians*, he built a Wall twelve Foot high, flank'd at proper Distances with Towers and Redoubts, and on the middle Tower erected a very high wooden Fort, from whence could be seen whatever was done in the City. This Wall took up the whole Breadth of the *Isthmus*, that is, twenty five Stadia^k. The Enemies, within the Reach of whose Arrows it was, used all their

feet

ⁱ He who at first commanded without the City, but having caused the other *Asdrubal*, *Mafiniffa's* Grandson, to be put to

Death, he got the Command of the Troops within the Walls.

^k Four Miles and three Quarters.

Endeavours to put a Stop to this Undertaking, but the whole Army working at it without Intermission Day and Night, 'twas finish'd in twenty four Days. *Scipio* reap'd a double Advantage from it: First, his Troops were lodg'd more safely and commodiously: Secondly, he cut off by this means all the Provisions of the besieg'd, to whom none could be brought by Land, which put them to very great Streights, both because the Sea is often very tempestuous in that Place, and because the *Roman* Fleet kept a strict Guard. This proved one of the chief Causes of the Famine which soon-after raged in the City. Besides, *Asdrubal* distributed the Corn that was brought, only to the thirty thousand Men that serv'd under him, troubling himself very little for the rest of the Multitude.

To distress them the more through Want of Provisions, *Scipio* undertook to stop up the Mouth of Page 74. the Haven by a Mole beginning at the above-mention'd Point of Land, which lay near the Harbour. The Besieg'd look'd at first upon the Attempt as ridiculous, and accordingly insulted the Workmen: But at last seeing them daily make an extraordinary Progress, they began to be really afraid, and to take proper Measures to render the Attempt unsuccessful. Every one, even Women and Children, fell to work, but so privately that *Scipio* could learn nothing from the Prisoners of War, only that a great Noise was heard in the Harbour, but without knowing the Occasion. At length, all being ready, the *Carthaginians* open'd on a sudden a new Way on the other Side of the Haven, and appear'd at Sea with a numerous Fleet just built with the old Materials that were found in their Magazines. It is allowed by all that if they had directly attack'd the *Roman* Fleet, they would have infallibly become Masters of it, because as no such thing was expected, and every Man was otherwise employed, they should have found it without Rowers, without Soldiers and Officers. But, says the *Historian*, the Ruin of *Carthage* was decreed.

creed. Having therefore offer'd only a kind of Insult or Bravado to the *Romans*, they returned back into the Harbour.

Two Days after they put out their Ships, with a Resolution to fight in good Earnest, and found the Enemies ready to receive them. This Battle was to be decisive on either Side. It lasted a long while, both Parties striving to the utmost, the one to save their Country reduc'd to the last Extremity, and the other to compleat their Victory. During the Fight the *Carthaginian* Gallies sliding along the large *Roman* Ships, broke sometimes their Poop, sometimes their Rudder and Oars, and if they found themselves press'd hard, retreated with a wonderful Swiftnes, and immediately returned to the Charge. At length, after the two Armies had fought with equal Success till Sun-setting, the *Carthaginians* thought fit to retire, not that they own'd themselves overcome, but to begin again the next Day. Part of their Ships not being able to get fast enough into the Harbour, because the Mouth of it was too narrow, took Shelter along a spacious Terrass that had been erected before the Walls to unload the Merchandizes, and on the Edge whereof a small Rampart was built during this War, to hinder the Enemies from becoming Masters of it. Here the Fight began again more briskly than ever, and lasted till late at Night. The *Carthaginians* were put to great Streights, and the few Ships of theirs that escaped fled to the City. When Morning came, *Scipio* having attack'd, and carried the Terrass, tho' with great Difficulty, posted and fortified himself there; and built a brick Wall close to the City-walls, and of the same Height with them, When it was finish'd, he order'd four thousand Men to get on the Top of it, and from thence incessantly to throw Darts on the Enemies, who were extremely annoyed thereby, because the two Walls being equal in Height, hardly was any Dart flung but what did some Mischief. Thus ended this Campaign,

DURING the Winter Quarters, *Scipio* made it his Page 78.
Business to get rid of the Enemies Troops without
 the City, which very much disturbed his Convoys,
 and protected such as were sent to the besieged. For
 that Purpose he attacked a neighbouring Place, named
Nepheris, which served them for Shelter. In the
 last Battle were destroyed above seventy thousand
 of the Enemies, both Soldiers and Peasants that had
 flock'd thither, and the Place was carried with great
 Difficulty after a two and twenty Day's Siege.
 The taking of it was followed with the Surrender of
 almost all the Towns and Places in *Africa*, and con-
 tributed much to the taking of *Carthage* itself, where
 from that Time it became almost impossible to bring
 in any Provisions.

EARLY in the Spring *Scipio* attacked at once the Page 79.
 Harbour, named *Cothon*, and the Citadel. Having
 made himself Master of the Wall that surrounded this
 Port, he threw himself into the publick Place of the
 City that stood nigh, from whence there was a sloping
 Ascent to the Citadel up three Streets lined on each
 side with Houses, from the Tops of which rained a
 Shower of Darts upon the *Romans*; who were com-
 pelled, before they could proceed any further, to
 force the first Houses, and to post themselves there-
 in, that they might from thence dislodge the Enemies
 that fought from the neighbouring Houses. The
 Combat from the Tops of the Houses, and below,
 lasted six Days, during which a horrible Slaughter
 was made. To clear the Streets, and make a Passage
 for the Troops, they drew away with Hooks the
 Carcases of the Inhabitants that had either been slain,
 or tumbled down headlong from the Houses, and
 cast them into Pits, most of them still alive and
 breathing. In this toilsome Employment, which last-
 ed six Days and six Nights, the Soldiers were reliev'd
 from time to time by others that were fresh, without
 which they must have been entirely spent with Fa-
 tigue and Weariness. *Scipio* alone had no Sleep all

this while, giving Orders every where, and hardly allowing himself Time to take any Refreshment.

age 81.

THERE was still room enough to believe that the Siege would last a good while longer, and cost abundance of Blood. But on the seventh Day there appeared a Company of Men in a suppliant Posture and Dress, who required no other Terms, but that the *Romans* would grant their Lives to as many as should be willing to go out of the Citadel: Which was granted them, the Deserters excepted. Accordingly there went out fifty thousand both Men and Women, which were sent into the Country under a strong Guard. The Deserters, whose Number was about nine hundred, seeing that they were to expect no Quarters, intrench'd themselves in the Temple of *Æsculapius* with *Asdrubal*, his Wife and Children: Where, though their Number was but small, they could have held out a long time, because the Building was very high, seated upon Rocks, and to which the Ascent was by sixty Steps. But at last wearied out with Hunger, Watching, and Fear, and seeing their Destruction at hand, they lost all Patience, and forsaking the lower Part of the Temple, they retired to the uppermost Story, and resolved not to quit it but with their Lives.

IN the mean while *Asdrubal*, solicitous to save himself, went down privately to *Scipio*, carrying in his Hand an Olive-branch, and cast himself at his Feet. *Scipio* shewed him immediately to the Deserters, who flying thereupon into the utmost Rage and Fury, loaded him with Reproaches, and set the Temple on Fire. While it was lighting, 'tis said that *Asdrubal's* Wife dressed herself as splendidly as she could, and standing within Sight of *Scipio* with her two Children, spoke to him with a loud Voice in this manner: "I make no Imprecations against thee, O
 " *Roman*, for thou dost but act according to the Rights
 " of War. But may the Gods of *Carthage*, and
 " may't thou jointly with them, punish that false
 " Man as he deserves, who hath betrayed his Coun-
 " try,

“ try, his Gods, his Wife and his Children! ” Then addressing her self to *Asdrubal*: “ Perfidious Wretch, said she, thou basest and most cowardly of all Men, this Fire is going to consume me and my Children; as for thy part, thou unworthy General of *Carthage*, go and adorn the Triumph of thy Conqueror, and suffer in the Sight of *Rome* the Punishment thou dost deserve.” After which Reproaches she cut her Children’s Throats, flung them into the Fire, and afterwards cast herself into the Flames. All the Deserters did the same,

As for *Scipio*, when he saw this famous City, that had flourished for seven hundred Years, and been comparable to the largest Empires for the Extent of her Dominions by Sea and Land, for her numerous Armies, her Fleets, her Elephants, and Riches; and even superiour to other Nations for her Courage and Bravery, since, stript as she was of Arms and Ships, she had held out for three whole Years through all the Hardships and Calamities of a long Siege: Seeing then, I say, this City absolutely ruin’d, ’tis reported that he could not refuse Tears to the unhappy Fate of *Carthage*. He considered that Cities, Nations, and Empires are liable to Revolutions, as well as Men in particular: That the same Misfortune had befallen *Troy*, a City formerly so powerful; and since, the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, and *Persians*, whose Dominions were so extensive; and very lately the *Macedonians*, whose Empire had made a great Noise in the World. Full of such melancholy Thoughts, he repeated these Verses of *Homer*!

*The Day shall come, that great avenging Day,
Which Troy’s proud Glories in the Dust shall lay,
When Priam’s Pow’rs and Priam’s self shall fall,
And one prodigious Ruin swallow all.* Pope.

1 Ἐσσεται, ἡμαρ ὅταν ποτ’ ὀλωλή Ἴλιος ἴρη,
καὶ Πριάμου ἢ λαὸς ἰυμμελίω Πριάμου. II. β'. 164, 165.

denoting thereby the future Destiny of *Rome*, as he own'd to *Polybius*, who ask'd him what he meant by these Verses.

HAD the Light of Truth but shone upon his Understanding, he might have discovered what we are taught in Scripture, that "because of unrighteous Dealings, Injuries, and Riches got by Deceit, a Kingdom is translated from one People to another." *Carthage* is destroyed, because her Avarice, Perfidiousness, and Cruelty are arrived to their utmost Pitch. *Rome* will have the same Fate, when her Luxury, Ambition, Pride, and unjust Usurpations, concealed under an outside Shew of Justice and Virtue, shall compel the sovereign Lord and Disposer of Empires to give by her Fall an important Lesson to the World.

CARTHAGE being thus taken, *Scipio* gave it up to be plundered by his Soldiers for some Days, excepting the Gold, the Silver, the Statues, and other Offerings that should be found in the Temples. Afterwards he distributed among them several military Rewards, as well as among the Officers, two of which had particularly distinguished themselves, namely, *Tib. Gracchus*, and *Cai. Fannius*, who first scaled the Walls. Then adorning a small Ship with the Enemy's Spoils, he sent it to *Rome* to carry thither the News of the Victory.

AT the same time he ordered the Inhabitants of *Sicily* to come and look out the Pictures and Statues which the *Carthaginians* had taken from them in former Wars. When he restored to those of *Agrigentum Phalaris's* famous Bull^m, he told them that this Bull, which was at once a Monument of the Cruelty of their ancient Kings, and of the Mildness of their new Masters, ought to make them know, which

^m Quem taurum *Scipio* cum redderet *Agrigentinis*, dixisse dicitur æquum esse illos cogitare utrum esset *Siculis* utilius, suis se servire, an populo *R.* obtem-

perare, cum idem monumentum & domesticæ crudelitatis, & nostræ mansuetudinis haberent. *Cicer. Verr. 6. n. 73.*

would be most advantageous for them, to be under the *Sicilians* Yoke, or the Government of the *Roman* People.

HAVING exposed to sale part of the Spoils of *Carthage*, he strictly ordered his Family not to take, or even buy any of them, so careful was he to remove from himself and his House the least Suspicion of being self-interested.

WHEN the News of the taking of *Carthage* was App. brought to *Rome*, People gave themselves up to the P. 83. most excessive Joy, as if this had been the first Moment that secured the publick Repose. They revolved in their Minds all the Evils they had endured from the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, in *Spain*, and even in *Italy* for sixteen Years together, during which, *Hannibal* had pillaged four hundred Towns, destroy'd three hundred thousand Men, and reduced *Rome* itself to the last Extremity. Amidst the Remembrance of these past Evils, they ask'd one another whether it were really true that *Carthage* was laid waste. All Orders of Men ~~striv'd~~ to outdo one another in Expressions of Gratitude towards the Gods, and the City was for many Days employed only in solemn Sacrifices, in publick Prayers, in Games and Spectacles.

AFTER the Performance of these religious Duties, Page 84. the Senate sent ten Commissioners into *Africk* to regulate jointly with *Scipio*, the State of that Country. Their first Care was to demolish all that remained of *Carthage* *. *Rome* ⁿ, already Mistress of almost the

* We may guess at the Bigness of this famous City, by what *Florus* says, that it was seventeen Days on Fire, before it could be all consumed. Quanta urbs deleta sit, ut de cæteris taceam, vel ignium mora probari potest: Quippe per continuos decem & septem dies vix potuit incendiū extinguī. *Lip. 2. c. 13.*

ⁿ Neque se Roma, jam terrarum orbe superato, securam speravit fore, si nomen usquam maneret Carthaginis. Adco odium certaminibus ortum, ultra metum durat, & ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante ingisum esse desinit, quam esse desit. *Tell. Patroc. l. 1. cap. 12.*

whole

whole World, could not think herself safe so long as the Name of *Carthage* was in Being: So true it is, that an inveterate Hatred, kept up with long and cruel Wars, lasts even beyond the Time when there is no Cause to fear, and does not cease to subsist but with the Object that occasions it. Orders were given in the Name of the *Roman* People, that it should never be inhabited again, and horrible Imprecations denounced against those, who contrary to this Prohibition, should undertake to rebuild any part of it, especially the Citadel *Byrsa*, and the Place called *Megara*. In the mean while, every one that would was admitted to see it: *Scipio* being well pleased that People should observe the Ruins of a City that durst contend with *Rome* for universal Dominion°. The Commissioners decreed moreover that the Cities which had during this War, sided with the Enemies, should be all razed, and gave their Territories to the *Roman* Allies; particularly, they made a Grant to those of *Utica* of the whole Country that lay between *Carthage* and *Hippon*. The rest they made tributary, and converted it into a *Roman* Province, where a *Prætor* was to be sent every Year.

ALL Matters being thus settled, *Scipio* returned to *Rome*, where he made his Entry in Triumph. Never had so magnificent a one been seen. For there was nothing but Statues, Rarities, curious and invaluable Pieces, which the *Carthaginians* had been many Years gathering together, and bringing into *Africa*, without reckoning the Money that was carried into the publick Treasury, and which amounted to immense Sums.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the Precautions that were used to hinder *Carthage* from being ever rebuilt, less than thirty Years after, and even in *Scipio's* Lifetime, one of the *Gracchi*, to ingratiate himself with

° Ut ipse locus eorum, qui runt, vestigia calamitatis ostendat. *Cicer. Agrar. 2. n. 50.*

the Multitude, undertook to repeople it, and led thither a Colony of six thousand Citizens. The Senate being informed that the Workmen had been frightened at many unlucky Omens, when they were drawing the Circumference and laying the Foundations of the new City, would have put a Stop to the Undertaking: But the Tribune, not over-nice and scrupulous in religious Matters, carried on the Work notwithstanding all these bad Prefages, and finished it in a few Days. This was the first *Roman* Colony that was sent out of *Italy*.

IT is probable that there were only Cottages built there, since we are told, ^P that when *Marius* came thither during his Flight into *Africa*, he lived in a mean and poor Condition amidst the Ruins and Rubbish of *Carthage*, comforting himself at the sight of such an astonishing Spectacle, and serving, in some respect, for Comfort to that unfortunate City.

APP-IAN relates, that *Julius Caesar* having, Page 85. after the Death of *Pompey*, pass'd into *Africa*, saw in a dream a numerous Army that implor'd him with Tears in their Eyes; moved at this Dream he writ down in his Pocket-Book the Design he formed upon this Occasion of rebuilding *Carthage* and *Corinth*: But being kill'd soon after, *Cæsar-Augustus* his adoptive Son, who found this Memorandum among his Papers, rebuilt *Carthage* near the Place where it formerly stood, that he might not incur the Execrations denounced at the Time of its Destruction against whomsoever should attempt to restore it.

I know not what this Account of *Appian* is founded upon; but we read in *Strabo*, that *Carthage* and L. 17. *Corinth* were rebuilt at the same time by *Cæsar*, top. 833. whom he gives the name of *God*, by which Title a

^P *Marius* cursum in *Africam* direxit, inopemque vitam in tugurio ruinarum *Carthaginiensium* toleravit: cum *Marius* af-

piciens *Carthaginem*, illa intuens *Maritum*, alter alteri possent esse solatio. *Vell. Patere*. L. 2. c. 19.

little

Page 83. little before he plainly denotes *Julius Cæsar*; and
 Page 734. *Plutarch*, in his *Life*, ascribes expressly to him the
 Settlement of these two Colonies, and observes, that
 what is remarkable in these two Cities is, that as
 they were both taken and destroyed together, so
 were they likewise rebuilt and peopled again at the
 same time. However this be, *Strabo* affirms that in
 his time *Carthage* was as well peopled as any other
 City in *Africa*; and it became all along under the
 succeeding Emperors the Capital of *Africa*. It stood
 for about seven hundred Years after this with some
 sort of Splendor; but was at last entirely destroyed
 by the *Saracens* in the beginning of the seventh Cen-
 tury, so that her very Name and the least Marks
 of such a City are not so much as known in the
 Country.

A DIGRESSION

*Concerning the Manners and Character of the Second
 Scipio Africanus.*

SCIPPIO, the Destroyer of *Carthage*, was Son
 to the famous *Paulus Æmilius*, who vanquish'd
Perseus the last King of *Macedon*, and conse-
 quently Grandson to that other *Paulus Æmilius*, who
 was slain at the Battle of *Cannæ*. He was adopted
 by the Son of the renowned *Scipio Africanus*, and
 named *Scipio Æmilianus*; which, according to the
 Law of Adoption, united the Names of the two Fa-
 milies. He equally kept up the Honour of both by
 all the noble Qualities that can adorn the Sword and
 the Gown¹. During the whole Course of his Life,
 saith an *Historian*, he never did, spoke, or thought,

¹ P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir a-
 vritis, P. Africani paternisq[ue],
 L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus
 omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus,
 ingeniiq[ue] ac studiorum emi-

nentissimus seculi sui, qui nihil
 in vita nisi laudandum aut fe-
 cit aut dixit ac sensit. *Vall.*
Vatore, lib. 1. cap. 12.

but what was commendable. He distinguished himself particularly (a Thing very uncommon now-a-days among military Men!) by an exquisite Taste for Sciences and all kinds of Literature, and by a singular Esteem for Men of Learning. All the World knows that he was reckoned the Author of *Terence's* Comedies, the most compleat Work for Elegance and Politeness that *Rome* ever produced. It is said, in his Commendation^r, that no Man knew better how to intermix Rest and Action, or improve with a more nice and discerning Judgment the Time he could spare from Business. Divided between Arms and Books, between the Toils of a Camp, and the peaceable Occupations of the Closet, wherein he exercis'd his Body with the Hardships of War, and cultivated his Mind by the Study of the Sciences, he shewed that nothing is a nobler Ornament to a Man of Quality, in whatever Orb he moves, than polite Literature. *Cicero* saith of him^s, that he had always in his Hands the Works of *Xenophon*, so full of solid Instruction, whether with regard to War or Politicks.

THIS exquisite Taste for Learning and the Sciences, was the Fruit of the excellent Education which *Paulus Æmilius* bestowed upon his Children. He had them instructed by the ablest Masters in all respects, sparing no Cost though his Estate was but small, and was present at all their Exercises as much as his publick Employments would permit him, intending thereby to be himself their chief Master.

THE close Friendship *Scipio* contracted with *Polybius*, compleated these noble Qualities which a happy Genius and an excellent Education had display'd in him. *Polybius*, with great Numbers of other

^r Neque enim quisquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervallane-goriorum otio dispunxit: Semperque aut belli aut pacis servit artibus, semper inter arma ac studia versatus, aut corpus peri-

culis, aut animum disciplinis exercuit. *Ibid.* c. 13

^s Africanus semper Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat. *Tusc. Quæst.* l. 2. n. 62.

Acheans,

Acheans, being grown suspicious to the *Romans* during the War with *Perseus*, was detained at *Rome*, where his Merit made him soon known and sought after by the most eminent Persons in the City. *Scipio*, then hardly eighteen Years of Age, gave himself up entirely to him, accounting it his greatest Happiness to have an Opportunity of being trained up under such a Master, whose Conversation he prefer'd to all the trifling Amusements which young People are generally so fond of.

POLYBIUS began with inspiring him with an extreme Aversion for those shameful and dangerous Pleasures, which the *Roman* Youth then addicted themselves to, being almost universally debauched and corrupted by the Luxury and Licentiousness which Riches and new Conquests had introduced into *Rome*. During the first five Years *Scipio* was at this excellent School, he mightily improved by the Instructions he received; and not regarding in the least the Galleries and bad Example of the Youth of his Time, he came to be look'd upon by all the City, as a Pattern of Modesty and Wisdom.

AFTER this it was easy to inspire him with Generosity, a noble Disinterestedness, and a proper Use of Riches, Virtues so necessary for Persons of a high Rank, and which *Scipio* carried to the utmost Height, as is evident from some Facts related by *Polybius*, which are well worthy of Admiration.

ÆMILIA^c, the Wife of the first *Scipio Africanus*, and Mother to him who had adopted the *Scipio* of whom we are speaking, had left to this last a rich Inheritance at her Death. This Lady, besides the Diamonds, precious Stones, and other Jewels, which serve for Ornament to Persons of her Rank, had a great Quantity of Gold and Silver Vessels for Sacrifices, a sumptuous Train, Chariots, Equipages,

^c She was Sister to *Paulus Æmilius*, Father of the Second *Scipio Africanus*.

a considerable Number of Slaves of both Sexes; the whole proportionable to the Wealth of the Family which she was married into. When she died, *Scipio* gave all these magnificent Things to his Mother *Papiria*, who having been some time since divorced by *Paulus Æmilius*, and not having wherewithal to keep up the Splendor suitable to her Rank, led an obscure Life, and did not appear at the Assemblies or publick Ceremonies. When she began to appear again with so much Splendour, such a generous Instance of Liberality procured *Scipio* a great deal of Honour, especially among the Ladies, who were not silent on the Occasion, and in a City, where, according to *Polybius*, People were far from being free to part with their Riches.

HE got no less Honour upon another Occasion. Out of the Estate which fell to him by the Death of his Grandmother, he was bound to pay at three different Times to the two Daughters of *Scipio* his Grandfather by Adoption, the half of their Portion, which amounted to fifty thousand Crowns. Upon the Expiration of the first Term, *Scipio* paid in the whole Sum to a Banker. *Tiberius Gracchus*, and *Scipio Nasica*, who had married these two Sisters, imagining *Scipio* had committed a Mistake, went to him and represented that the Law allowed him the Space of three Years to pay that Sum at three different Payments. Young *Scipio* answer'd, that he was not unacquainted with the Laws; that People might go to the Strictness of them with Strangers, but with Friends and Relations, it was but handsome to deal in a more noble and generous manner; and desired them to accept of the whole Sum at one Payment. They returned full of Admiration at the Generosity of their Kinsman, and blaming themselves for having such mean and selfish Thoughts^u, though they were the chief and most considerable Men in the City.

* Κατηγορούμενος τῆς αὐτῶν μικρολογίας.

This Liberality seem'd to them the more wonderful, says *Polybius*, because at *Rome*, far from paying fifty thousand Crowns before the Expiration of the Term, not a Man would have even paid one thousand before the Day appointed.

IT was owing to the same generous Spirit, that two Years after, *Paulus Æmilius* his Father happening to die, he presented his Brother *Fabius*, who was not so rich as himself, with the Share he had in his Father's Estate, which amounted to above sixty thousand Crowns, that he might thereby remove the Inequality between himself and his Brother.

THIS same *Fabius* intending to give the People a Shew of Gladiators in Honour of his Father's Memory, as was then usual, and not being well able to go to the Charge of it which was very considerable, *Scipio* allowed fifteen thousand Crowns towards it, that he might at least bear half the Expence.

THE magnificent Presents *Scipio* had made to his Mother *Papiria*, came entirely to him again after her Death, so that his Sisters could not, according to the Custom of those Times, have the least Pretensions thereto. But he would have thought it dishonourable, and a retracting of his Gifts, to have taken them back. He left therefore to his Sisters whatever he had given to their Mother, which amounted to a very large Sum, and got new Applause by this fresh Instance of his Greatness of Soul, and of his tender Love for his Family.

THE Value of these several Presents, which put together, amounted to vast Sums, was inhanç'd it seems by the Consideration of his Age (for he was very young) but still more by the Circumstances of the Time, when he made them, and by the kind and obliging manner wherewith he set them off.

THE Facts here alledged are so very different from our modern Ways, that there might be reason to fear they should be look'd upon only as the Exaggerations of an Historian, prepossessed in Favour of his Hero,

Hero, if it was not known that *Polybius*, by whom they are mentioned, had the Character of a sincere Lover of Truth, and a declared Enemy to all Flattery. In the very Place from whence I have taken these Particulars, he has thought fit to warn his Reader with relation to what he says of the virtuous Actions and uncommon Qualities of *Scipio*; and observes that as his Writings were to be read by the *Romans*, who had full Knowledge of all that he relates concerning that great Man, they would not fail of giving him the Lie, if he durst advance an Untruth: Which is such an Affront as it is impossible any Author, who hath the least Value for his Reputation, would expose himself to for nothing.

WE have already shewed, that *Scipio* did not give into the Lewdness and Debauchery which then reign'd almost universally among the *Roman* Youth. He had full Amends made him, and was amply rewarded for this voluntary Abstinence from sensual Pleasures by the firm and lasting Health he enjoyed all the rest of his Life, which enabled him to taste more real and sincere Pleasures, and to perform those great Actions that acquired him so much Glory.

HUNTING, in which he took an extraordinary Delight, contributed also very much to render him strong, and capable of enduring the greatest Fatigues. *Macedon*, whither he went along with his Father, abundantly furnished him with Opportunities of satisfying his Inclinations for Hunting, which was in that Country the usual Diversion of the Kings, having been discontinued for some Years by reason of the War, he found an incredible Plenty of all Kinds. *Paulus Æmilius*, studious of indulging his Son in lawful Recreations, in order to give him a Distaste and Aversion for sensual and unreasonable Diversions, left him at Liberty to continue Hunting all the while the *Roman* Troops remained in the Country, after the Defeat of *Perseus*. The young Man employed his leisure Hours in an Exercise so suitable to his

Age and Inclination, and met with as good Success in this innocent War upon the Beasts of *Macedon*, as his Father had done in his War with the Inhabitants of that Country.

IT was at his Return from this Voyage, that *Scipio* found *Polybius* at *Rome*, and entered with him into that close and intimate Friendship which became so beneficent to the young *Roman*, and turned as much to his Honour among succeeding Ages as all his Conquests. *Polybius*, it seems, lived in the same House with the two Brothers. One Day, they two happening to be alone, *Scipio* fully opened his Heart to *Polybius*, and complained but in a mild and courteous manner, that in the Conversations they had at Table, *Polybius* always directed his Speech to his Brother *Fabius*, and never to him. "I am sensible," said he, that this Indifference proceeds from your supposing, as all our Citizens do, that I am a heedless young Man, unacquainted with the Taste that now reigns at *Rome*, because I do not frequent the Pleadings in the Forum, nor apply my self to Oratory. But how should I do it? when I am continually told that it is not an Orator who is expected from the Family of the *Scipio's*, but a General. I must own to you, pray excuse the Freedom with which I speak, that I am very much concerned and griev'd at your Indifference for me." *Polybius*, surpriz'd at this unexpected Speech, comforted him as well as he could, and assured him that if he commonly directed his Discourse to his Brother, it was not out of any Disesteem for him, but only because *Fabius* was the eldest, and knowing the two Brothers had the same Sentiments he thought that speaking to one was in effect speaking to both. That he was ready to do him all the Service that lay in his Power, and was absolutely at his Disposal. That as for the Sciences, which he observed him to be very fond of, he had Opportunities of making great Improvements by the Help of those many learned Men which

which daily came from *Greece* to *Rome*: But as to the **B**usiness of War, which was properly his Profession as well as his favourite Employment, he might be of some Use to him. Then *Scipio* taking hold of his Hands, and squeezing them between his: "When, " said he, shall I see that happy Day, when free " from all other Occupations, and living with me, " you will be pleased to apply yourself to form my " Understanding! *Then* shall I think my self worthy of " my Ancestors." From that Time *Polybius*, charmed and touched at finding such noble Sentiments in a Youth applied himself particularly to young *Scipio*, who respected him ever after as his own Father.

his ~~THE~~ being an Historian was not the only Qualification for which *Scipio* esteem'd *Polybius*: He valued him abundantly more, and made a greater Use of him, on account of his being a great General, and a famous Politician. Accordingly he consulted him upon every Occasion, and was guided by his Directions, even when at the Head of his Armies, privately contriving with him whatever was done in the Field, all the Motions of the Army, all the Attempts against the Enemy, and all proper Measures to render them successful. In a word, it was the general Opi-Pausan. nion that this *Roman* never did any good Thing for in Arcad. which he was not indebted to *Polybius*, and that he l. 8. never committed any Faults, but when he acted with-P. 505. out consulting him.

I DESIRE the Reader to excuse this long Digression, which may seem perhaps foreign to my Subject, as I am not writing the *Roman* History; but it seem'd to me so suitable to the Design I propose to my self in this Work, namely, the Instruction of Youth, that I could not forbear inserting it here, tho' I was sensible that this was not exactly its proper Place. And indeed, it plainly shews of what Importance is a good Education, and how advantageous it is for young People to get an early Acquaintance with Persons of Merit: For these were the Foundations of

that Glory and Reputation which rendered the Name of *Scipio* so illustrious. But above all, what a Pattern is here for our present Age, in which the most trifling Concerns raise Dissensions between Brothers and Sisters, and destroy the Peace of Families; what a noble Pattern, I say, have we in the generous Disinterestedness of *Scipio*, who did not value the largest Sums, when he could oblige his Relations. I had omitted this fine Passage of *Polybius*, because it is not extant in the *Folio* Edition of his Works. The proper Place for it was, when treating of true Glory, I spoke of the Contempt the Ancients had for Riches, and of the noble Use they made of them. I thought my self under an Obligation to restore here to young Gentlemen what I could not but blame myself for having deprived them of.

T H E H I S T O R Y

Of the Family and Posterity of Masinissa.

I PROMISED above to return to the Family and Posterity of *Masinissa*, after I had finished all that related to *Carthage*. This Subject contains a considerable Part of the History of *Africa*, and for that Reason is not quite foreign to my present Purpose.

EVER since *Masinissa* had, under the first *Scipio*, sided with the *Romans*, he constantly adhered to that honourable Alliance with an uncommon Zeal and Fidelity. Finding himself near Death, he writ to the Proconsul of *Africa*, under whose Banners young *Scipio* then served, desiring he might be sent to him, adding that he should die with Satisfaction if he could but resign his last Breath in the Arms of *Scipio*, after having made him the Executor of his Will. But finding his End approaching before he could enjoy this Comfort, he called for his Wife and Children, and told them, that he knew in the whole World no other Nation but the *Roman*, and among that Nation

no other Family but that of *Scipio*: That he fully empowered at his Death *Scipio Æmilianus* to dispose as he thought fit of his Goods, and to divide his Kingdom among his Children: And that it was his Pleasure that whatever he appointed should be punctually performed, as if he himself had ordered it so by Will. After having thus spoken to them, he departed this Life, being above ninety Years of Age.

THIS Prince, who had in his Youth undergone various Misfortunes, being turned out of his Kingdom, forced to fly from Province to Province, and a thousand times in danger of losing his Life; was supported, says the Historian, by the divine Protection, so that for a long time before his Death, he was crowned with a continued Series of Prosperity, which was interrupted by no Mischance. He not only recovered his Kingdom, but also gain'd that of *Syphax* his Enemy; and being thereby Master of the whole Country between *Mauritania* and *Cyrene*, he became the most powerful Prince in all *Africa*. To the last he retain'd a perfect Health, which he undoubtedly acquired by his uncommon Temperance in eating and drinking, and by the Care he took of inuring himself to Labour and Fatigue. When he was fourscore Years of Age, he still perform'd all the Exercises of a young Man*, and rid on Horse-back without Saddle: *Polybius* observes ('tis *Plutarch* who has transmitted down this Remark) that the next Day after a great Victory over the *Carthaginians*, he was seen before his Tent eating a Piece of brown Bread.

An sent
gerenda
fit Ref-
publica.
P. 791.

* *Cicero brings in Cato thus speaking of Masinissa's hardy and active Constitution.* Arbitror te audire Scipio, hospes tuus Masinissa quæ faciat hodie nonaginta annos natus, cum ingressus iter pedibus sit in equum omnino non ascendere, cum e-

quo, ex equo non descendere, nullo imbre, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite aperto sit, summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem. Itaque exequi omnia regis officia & munera. *De Senectute.*

pp. ib. (HE left at his Death fifty four Sons, of whom
 al. Max. only three were born in lawful Wedlock, namely *Mi-*
 5. c. 2. *cipsa*, *Gulussa*, and *Mastanabal* †. *Scipio* divided the
 Kingdom between these three last; and gave the others
 considerable Revenues. But soon after, *Micipsa* re-
 mained alone possessed of those vast Dominions by the
 Death of his two Brothers. He had two Sons, *Ad-*
herbal and *Hiempfal*; with whom he bred up at his
 his whole Court *Jugurtha* his Nephew, the Son of *Mastanabal* ||,
 account of and took the same Care of him as of his own Chil-
 ugurtha dren. This last had excellent Qualities, which pro-
 extracted cured him a general Esteem. Well made, handsome,
 of Sal. active, and ingenious: He did not, as is usual among
 ult. young People, give himself up to Ease and Luxury;
 but exercis'd himself with his Equals in Running,
 Riding, throwing the Dart; and tho' he out-did
 all, was yet beloved by every one. Hunting was his
 favourite Diversion, but it was the Hunting of Lions,
 and other fierce Creatures. To compleat his Cha-
 racter, he excell'd in every Respect, and spoke but
 very little of himself w.

SUCH illustrious Qualities, and so generally approv-
 ed of, began to fill *Micipsa* with Uneasiness. He found
 himself declining, and his Children very young. He
 considered what Ambition is capable of, when a
 Throne is in View; that with less Talents than *Ju-*
gurtha was endued withal, it is easy to yield to so
 powerful a Temptation, especially when backed with
 favourable Circumstances x. In order to remove such a
 dangerous Competitor for his Children, he gave him
 the Command of the Forces he was sending into
 Spain to assist the Romans at the Siege of *Numantia*
 under the Conduct of *Scipio*; flattering himself that

† All the Editions I have seen
 of Sallust read *Manastabal*.

|| By a Concubine. Sallust.

w Plurimum facere, & mi-
 nimum ipse de se loqui.

* Terrebat cum natura mor-

talium avida imperii, & præcep-
 ad explendam animi cupidi-
 nem: præterea opportunitas suæ
 liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam
 mediocres viros spe prædæ trans-
 versos agit. Sallust.

Jugurtha, forward as he was to shew his Courage, might rashly engage into some hazardous Undertaking, and lose his Life. But he was mistaken. This young Prince had, together with an undaunted Courage, a remarkable Coolness of Temper, and, which is very uncommon at that Age, he was equally distant from a timorous Foresight, and a rash Boldness^y. In this Campaign he won the Love and Esteem of the whole Army. *Scipio* sent him back with Letters of Recommendation to his Uncle, and very high Encomiums, but not without giving him good Advice about his future Conduct. For, skilled as he was in the Knowledge of Mankind, he had probably discovered in the young Prince some Seeds of Ambition, of which he dreaded the Consequences.

MICIPS A, pleased with the good Character he heard of his Nephew, altered his Intentions with regard to him, and thenceforth applied himself to gain him by Kindnesses. He adopted him, and by Will made him Coheir with his two Sons. Finding his End approaching, he sent for them all Three, and bid them come near his Bed. There, in Presence of the whole Court, he put *Jugurtha* in mind of all that he had done in his Behalf, conjuring him in the Name of the Gods, always to defend and protect his Children, who, from being his Kinsmen by Birth, were, through his Generosity, become his Brethren. He represented to him that the Safeguard of a Kingdom was not Arms or Treasures, but Friends; who are acquired neither with Arms nor Gold, but by real Services and an inviolable Fidelity. And where can better Friends be found than Brethren? Or how can he rely on Strangers that becomes an Enemy to his nearest Relations^z? He exhorted his Children to respect

^y Ac sane, quod difficillimum imprimis est, & prælio strenuus erat, & bonus concilio: quorum alterum ex providentia ti-

morem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet.

^z Non exercitus, neque thesauri

362
spect and esteem *Jugurtha*, and have no other Contention with him but to try to equal, and, if possible, to outdo him in Merit. He concluded with advising them all to remain firmly attach'd to the *Romans*, and to consider them always as their Benefactors, their Patrons and Masters. *Micipsa* died a few Days after.

JUGURTHA soon laid aside all Restraint. He began by ridding himself of *Hiempsal*, who had spoken to him with a great deal of Freedom, and got him assassinated. *Adherbal* perceived thereby what he had to fear for himself. Divisions arise in *Numidia*, and Parties are formed for the two Brothers. Numerous Troops are raised on both sides. *Adherbal*, after having lost the greatest Part of his Dominions, is defeated in a Battle, and forced to fly for Refuge to *Rome*. *Jugurtha* was not much concern'd at it; knowing that almost every thing was to be purchased with Money in that City. He therefore sends Deputies thither with Orders to bribe the Chief of the Senators. In the first Audience they had, *Adherbal* display'd the calamitous State he found himself reduced to, the Injustice and Violences of *Jugurtha*, the Murder of his Brother, the Loss of the greatest Part of his Dominions; and insisted particularly on the last Orders he had receiv'd from his dying Father, of placing entirely his Trust and Reliance on the *Roman* People, whose Friendship would be a stronger Support for him and his Kingdom than all the Armies and Treasures in the World. His Speech was long and pathetick. *Jugurtha's* Deputies replied in a few Words; that *Hiempsal* was slain by the *Numidians* for his Cruelty; that *Adherbal* had been the Aggressor, and after having been defeated, came to complain because he had not been

fauri, præsidia regni sunt, verum amici: Quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas; officio & fide panuntur.

Quis autem amicioꝝ quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris?

suffered

suffered to do Mischief; that their Master desired the Senate to judge of his Behaviour by what he was known to be at the Siege of *Numantia*, and to regard more his Actions than the Accusations of his Enemies. They privately used a more prevailing Eloquence than Words; which had its due Effect. Excepting a very few Senators that still retained some Sentiments of Honour, and were not sold to Injustice, all the rest inclined to *Jugurtha*. It was resolved that ten Commissioners should be sent on the Spot to divide equally the Provinces between the two Brothers. *Jugurtha*, one may suppose, was not then sparing of his Money. The Division was made entirely to his Advantage, but however with some Shew of Equity.

THIS first Success swell'd his Courage, and increas'd his Audaciousness. He next attack'd openly his Brother, and whilst *Adherbal* amuses himself with sending to the *Romans*, he makes himself Master of many of his Towns, pushes his Conquests, and after having defeated him in a Battle, besieges him in *Cirtha* the Capital of his Kingdom. In the mean time there come Deputies from *Rome*, with Orders from the Senate and People to the two Princes, that they should lay down their Arms, and forbear all Hostilities. *Jugurtha*, after having testified his profound Respect and perfect Submission to the Commands of the *Roman* People, added, that he did not believe their Intention was to hinder him from defending his own Life against the Snares of his Brother; that he would shortly send Embassadors to *Rome* to inform the Senate of his Conduct. By this general Answer he evaded the Orders of the Senate, and did not so much as allow the Commissioners Liberty to go to *Adherbal*.

How closely soever he was block'd up in the Place, he found means * to send to *Rome* to implore the Assistance

* He pick'd out two of the bravest Fellows that had follow'd him into *Cirtha*, who, induc'd by the great Promises he made 'em, and

Assistance of the *Roman* People against a Brother, by whom he had been besieged for five Months, and who had a Design upon his Life. Some Senators were for declaring War immediately against *Jugurtha*: But his Credit still prevail'd, so that they were satisfied with appointing for Commissioners some of the most eminent Senators, amongst whom was *Æmilius Scaurus*, a powerful and sactious Nobleman, who under a virtuous Outside concealed enormous Vices. *Jugurtha* was under some Apprehensions at first, but he managed it so that he evaded once again their Demands, and sent them back without effecting any thing. Then *Adberbal*, having no Remedy left, surrendered upon Condition his Life should be spared; but he was directly put to Death*, and with him a great Number of *Numidians*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Horror this News caused at *Rome*, *Jugurtha's* Money still procured him Friends that took his Part in the Senate. But *C. Memmius*, a Tribune of the People, a brisk Man, and a great Stickler against the Nobles, persuaded the People not to let so heinous a Crime go unpunished. War therefore was declared against *Jugurtha*, and the Care of it committed to *Calpurnius Bestia*. He was a Man of excellent Qualities; but which were all sullied by his Covetousness^a. *Scaurus* went along with him. They took at first several Places: But *Jugurtha's* Money soon put a Stop to their Conquests, and even *Scaurus* himself^b, who till then had been an earnest Opposer of that Prince, could not be Proof

and by their own Commiseration of his Circumstances, undertook to pass through the Enemy's Camp in the Night to the next Shore, and from thence to Rome. Ex his, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duos maxime impigros delegit: eos, multa pollicendo, ac miserando casum suum confirmat, uti per hostium multationes noc-

tu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent. Sallust.

* After having been tortured. Excruciatum. Sallust.

^a Multæ bonæque artes animi & corporis erant, quas omnes avaritia præpediebat.

^b Magnitudine pecuniæ a bono honestoque in prævum abstractus est.

against

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